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LIFE AND OPINIONS
OF
SIR RICHARD MALTRAVERS.

VOL. II.

SIR RICHARD MALLRAYS

THE AND OPINIONS

OF

VOL. II

THE
LIFE AND OPINIONS
OF
SIR RICHARD MALTRAVERS,
AN
ENGLISH GENTLEMAN
OF
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

7
We defy Augury ; there is a special Providence in the Fall of a Sparrow. If it be now, 'tis not to come ; if it be not to come, it will be now ; if it be not now, yet it will come : the Readiness is all : Since no Man knows aught of what he leaves, what is't to leave betimes? — *Shakespeare.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. II.
—

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1822.

THE

LIFE AND OPINIONS

SIR RICHARD MALTBY

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CHAP. I.

THE proposition with which I concluded the last chapter, namely, that human nature is the channel for the operation of great principles—a sort of soil, in which pure intelligence first sprouts, then grows, and fructifies—may require some explanation. If these definitions be true, it seemeth to me to be a key that unlocks the main secret of our condition ; it accounts in some sort for the individual misery of mankind, and what they conceive to be misfortunes, by generalizing

them in the great order of nature, which is no other than perpetual motion regulated or harmonized. Thus, if we consider mankind in the mass, we form a conclusion as to the existence of a final object; but if, as many systems propound, we are to consider them individually, we are stopped at every turn by some glaring inconsistency. Thus, if we allow them to be masters of their actions, we can hardly account for, or reconcile their individual motion with the general laws of motion—with the harmony and order of greater bodies; and such doctrine appeareth to upset the whole doctrine of the relative proportion and entireness of the universe; we destroy the prescience and omnipotence of the Eternal Being and causation; we confound by a subtle though flimsy distinction, the *essential* difference between *causing* and *permitting* in the Eternal, Omnipotent, Intelligent Being; and we separate *dogmatically* morals from physics—which is no other than to thrust man by main force out of nature—to conceive him to be an ideal being, uninfluenced by the surrounding atmosphere, unchecked

by other beings or existences, unheeded by the infinite intelligence, that regulates the universe. In fact by insulating man we give him an ideal existence, contrary to the perpetual evidence of our senses. What a woe-ful discrepancy, then, exists between the exact sciences of the mathematics and geometry, and the larger and more open sciences of moral philosophy, which men choose to interpret according to their prejudices rather than according to sound logic! In truth, methinks that the highest flight the human mind can aspire to is to look out for *pure intelligence*, which assumeth so many and so wonderful shapes and disguises, but which, notwithstanding is often to be traced, by rigid analysis, exercised through a patience of thought. By dint of intense thinking, we may, then, conclude that human nature is the channel for the operation of great principles, which seem to run through it—the soil, as it were, of pure intelligence, which at once accounts for what we in our little planet call moral good and evil. Great principles are imperishable, because the remotest history records them to be

the same ; and that perpetual motion which we observe in the great bodies that our senses have the perception of, in the universe, must make them invariable. They flow down, then, from generation to generation—they are defined and immovable—so is the *type* of the human race ; whereas the *individuals* of which that type is composed perish every moment, because they are formed of frail materials—sufficiently strong to last, according to their organization, a certain portion of that quality which we call time—a quality which the eternal presence of these types renders an inadequate mode of measurement.

The individuals, then, of our race spring one from the other, depend one upon the other, depend upon all things that surround them for their existence. Divisible they are in form and stature, and into this man and that woman, but that is all—they exist in the universe, and by the universe, and are dependent upon the universe, for they form a part of it. A sunbeam, a change of the moon affects them.

It is, therefore, from the existence and operations of the whole race, as well as from

great bodies, that great principles are to be elicited. When we take this race, and these great bodies to pieces, we are shocked at the contradictions and deformities that we find in it and them. This is, then, no other than their individual passions clashing; all having the same object, each having various ways of attaining it; each of these various ways operating from a thousand million combinations, which no philosopher can be minute enough to unravel—which can be only seen through or comprehended by the infinite intelligence of the Divine, Eternal Being.

Thus we look upon a nation—we see it rich, flourishing, and enlightened. Its perspective is grand, and many passages of its history may be edifying. Examine more narrowly into its scheme of politics, and we shall find that many of what are termed private vices have become pretended public benefits, and that much of this supposed greatness is founded upon the most impure basis. Thus we are delighted with the mass, though disgusted with individuals. Look at a victorious army—we are enchanted with its valorous deeds;

our hearts are filled with enthusiasm at its heroic devotion, and disinterested indifference of life. Take that body of men to pieces—examine into their motives—look at them narrowly one by one—sift and analyze their characters—our admiration will fearfully and wonderfully abate. Their generals may have obtained, through bad faith and intrigue, the highest posts—they may have been stimulated by avarice, cruelty, lust, and all the most pitiful passions of our nature. Treachery, injustice, and brutality to those who are subservient to them—meanness, sycophancy, and servility to the ruling power may have been the chief means of their success—scandalous breaches of faith may have weaved their wreath of victory. The inferior officers may in many instances have passed their lives in low debauchery, and vulgar and nauseous ribaldry—they may owing to broken fortunes and the general insipid tenor of their lives have become careless, and even prodigal of those lives, and delighted at the chance of breaking through their morbid monotony; and thus they rush on death and acquire glory.

The common soldiers may have been driven to recruit the ranks because they were too turbulent, too indolent, too knavish, to remain quietly established at home. Perhaps they are the sweepings of gaols—or have been unwilling victims of folly, rapacity and ambition. Yet through the mists of murder, ravishing, robbery, burning, and devastation, we behold their sun of glory dazzling every eye, and penetrating through every heart. Kings reward them ; senators praise them ; women love them ; the clergy bless them. Thus it is that my proposition is true. The beauty of virtue is conspicuous in generalizing man, whilst the deformity of vice generates hideous individuals. We see, then, in man a larger ape. This view is certainly mortifying to individual pride—aye, and to individual vanity too. But I care not. I frequently pay a visit to old Diogenes in his tub—and there we laugh together at this large ape. We do not deceive ourselves, nor do we fancy vain things.

Some men called philosophers have laid great stress upon the nature of the human understanding—the *human understanding* in-

deed ! what a pompous, what an *unintelligible* phrase ! How far does it go ? what doth it in its wisdom *understand* ? Oh ! I cry you mercy, then—it is made up of simple, of complex ideas—of general or abstract ideas—or particular ideas—these archetypes of the appearances of things. Aye, these ideas, thus tediously and confusedly defined, convey to the sensorium of the brain a picture, an image : then comes judgment and decides—afterwards comes the conduct of the understanding to perfect the little God, who rules that little world, his own breast. What a number of little worlds, then, we see in a crowd !

I should be as much instructed by a long, dull, *wordy*, and minute analysis of the operations of the *stomach*, as of the *brain*, or, I beg pardon, of the *understanding* ; the one having the same self-moving power as the other. And if neither the one nor the other hath a self-moving power, why should we endeavour to deceive ourselves by pretending the contrary ? These ideas, then, are not masters, but servants ; they are not causes, but the channel of causes. Thus the brain and the

stomach are both properties of our nature, and like every other property equally necessary. Nothing can be more amusing to me than all the learned absurdity that philosophers have fallen into when they have chosen to make man a being wholly independent of atmospheric influence—for such is the conclusion we may draw from most of their premises. To say the truth, our greatest glory hath been, after much labour, and much experience, to unlock some of the secrets of Nature, and to afford ourselves some comfort and some matter for reflection. But the more we appear to know, the less we can account for final causes; and the more we are astounded and bewildered with the vast expanse of Nature, and struck dumb and motionless with the awful power and grandeur of God! The more too are we confirmed in the opinion of the most glorious band of men the world ever saw; men imbued with the truest religion, the soundest morality, in fine, the most exalted direction that ever a portion of the human race run into; *the Old Stoics*; viz. that nothing is worth the serious attention of a

wise man but these lofty reflections ; *for the march* and mode of his existence is of necessity. The test of our pure intelligence, then, is the conviction of eternal truths.

Thus did I endeavour to calm the irritation of my feelings, and to conquer the disgust I felt at the dismal sight of Slavery. Again I cherished hope, that best consolation of desolated hearts ; trusting that a great scheme of liberty and happiness would be brought about with regard to this ill-used sable population, through the means of their present wrongs ; and I was at the same time convinced that, through the sufferings of successive generations a great principle was to operate. Whenever this shall be the case, who shall say that such a circumstance was brought about by chance ? Who will be impious enough to deny the ways of Providence ? or who shall presume to accelerate the march of destiny ? Wretched mortals ! are we the judges of eternal decrees ?

We are told that reason is the soul of all law ; that the common law of the land is founded on reason ; that equity is reason per-

fected—unwritten, but perfecting written law. Statute or written laws are, then, deductions drawn from common law, which is founded in right reason—culled and drawn from the experience of ages, and admitted as such by the consent of wise men. And what, then, is the object of such exertions of intelligence, of which these are the products? to maintain justice. And what is justice? to give every man his own. This good definition, which Aristotle hath given, hath been generally admitted. So far therefore we may see a connexion. But is there always a connexion? Is there always a connexion between the common law and the statute law—between equity and the statute law—between right reason and the statute law—between justice and the statute law?—The statute law says, you may breed and use slaves. Therefore justice dictates your breeding and use of slaves! Then what becomes of Aristotle's definition of justice: "Give to every man his own?"—According to this doctrine man's body, and faculty of labour, are not his own! Then *force is right, and power, justice!* How

are we to know crimes, but by the declaration of the statute law?—for in every State religion is part of the law of the land, supported and maintained by the statute law, which is armed by the sovereign authority of the State.—In vain we look to our *conscience* for the knowledge of crimes; for *that*, as I have often urged, is but the *mirror*, in which we see the impression of outward objects; and a man's conscience varies with his country—it is geographical.—A Hottentot's conscience dictates to him to destroy his aged father and mother, as the last act of piety. A Mahometan's allows polygamy. The consciences of the members of different sects of Christianity vary. That of a Roman Catholic and a Quaker take different views. Lawgivers, then, are expounders of crimes. There are evil habits and sins, such as avarice, pride, envy, hypocrisy, which, betraying themselves in no overt act, the law cannot reach. By a singular fatality, these pernicious qualities may, peradventure, insinuate themselves into the breast of law-makers, and tinge the law itself with their venom. Popular

assemblies, acting under the influence of fear, interest, or misrepresentation,—guided by artful, wicked and designing men, who, to gratify their ambition, strive to possess as much power as they can grasp,—may pass such laws. Aye, they may do more. They may, as in ancient Rome, appoint a Dictator who shall be above all law; they may allow those who conduct the executive authority to transgress, violate, or entirely set the laws aside; and then, to afford the people a colour of justice, may pass a law of oblivion and indemnity for such offences. Such a proceeding can hardly take place in an enlightened, brave, or virtuous community; because it would be the worst sort of tyranny, to which would be superadded a most barefaced and insulting mockery of reason. *A State that would submit to such an outrageous proceeding must be far gone in depravity and degradation.*

Mankind, then, have ever had wit enough to make laws, if they have had honesty enough; and, indeed, let any discreet person exercise his judgment, and refer to his experience; he will find that he hath known more rogues

than fools : that is, philosophically speaking, more selfish persons than generous ones ; and with the selfish a man with a generous heart is frequently dubbed a fool, particularly among the vile spawn of great congregated societies, who crawl about and spit their venom on each other, passing their lives dabbling in filth and mire. For I take a selfish person to be in grain an arrant knave, although there are many such individually who have discretion, and are afraid of the laws, or an ill name, and therefore those keep clear of an overt act, for which they might be indicted. As we have bolts, and bars, and locks, to protect our houses from thieves, so should we have our eyes open constantly upon those who rule us : giving them all due praise when they govern us well, but not being over much inclined to compliment them with confidence, which is a quality that arises often from indolence and stupidity, and which seldom fails of bringing lasting punishment upon ourselves. We can always discover when we may place a just confidence, and when we ought to be more reserved ; and that is when we see

glaring inconsistencies—for consistency is the very essence of wisdom. Great consistency, then, invites to great confidence. It is true that such a man may be a consistent villain, but then you know the measure of his villainy, and accordingly will be the more upon your guard. It is for this reason that open, undisguised, blind, stumbling tyranny is not so dangerous to a State, as that which is more discreet, for cowards, fools and knaves in the first case all join to overthrow it. But as it is in the nature of power to be ever increasing, and encroaching upon the elements which surround it, as its essence is to love no fellow, the more discreet it is, the more concealed in its progress, the more permanent and the more dangerous are its consequences. The common object, from the earliest records of time, of the sovereign power of every State, whether arbitrary or popular, hath ever been to put its hands into the people's purse; and for this there hath not been wanting sufficient pretexts. The laws prescribe certain contracts, and make certain declarations of uses, that contributions shall be made under cer-

tain conditions, either for certain public purposes, or with the consent of the people, through the popular assembly thereof. The main drift of that part of the art and ingenuity of man, designated under the head of *Politics*, hath been to evade these contracts, and these provisions of the law. Keeping to their letter, they extinguish their spirit, and violate their intent and purpose. The people of every country have the fate of the captive children of Israel, under Pharoah, King of Egypt. The facility with which the people at large are cajoled out of their money, under every specious pretence, encourageth the rulers in desperate extravagance, and wilful and wanton wastefulness, until the source is run dry. Public contracts fail—the public wrongs become the manifest to the dullest perception—the insufficiency of our laws and forms of government is glaring, and a dire convulsion ensues. Shocking crimes are perpetrated, and a people punish themselves for having been dupes; for having had their ears delighted by honeyed words. Methinks I perceive a true resemblance between these public cajo-

lers, who ruin thus the health of States, and of those no less eloquent or profound Italian mountebanks, who dilate upon their nostrums, and call upon St. Anthony of Padua to witness their effects, to the ruin of the health of villages. Aye, in fair Florence, the fairest daughter of fair Italy,—thou noble monument and tomb of the genius and liberty of the ever-blest middle ages!—How oft, when in cynical mood I have paced thy frowning and awful streets, have I not so-laced my spleen in thy ample areas, in mixing (but with other feelings) among the gaping crowd, and in one of thy fluent *charlatans* have discovered the exquisite epitome of England's choicest orators! Have I not marked his mock enthusiasm,—with copious tongue and high-flown sentiment, thrilling the hearts of his besotted auditors; while his sly companion, with penetrating eye, gently insinuates the nostrum into the clown's half-retiring hand, and with greedy haste seizes the willing tax;—the throbbing of the raging tooth for that evening is abated; the busy housewife listens to the half perplexed sen-

tences which the clown has brought away; the next morn's dew renews the torture; experience, the dame's best guide, ridicules the eloquent theory; and the abashed clown regrets his dupery. How high might we not carry the comparison!

There are, indeed, but few watch-dogs in a State; and these bark so frequently that they are not much heeded. *It is a general calamity that alone can make a people wise.* God is the fountain of wisdom; from God it flows; and mankind are roused from their apathy, their stupidity, and their servility, when he pours the vial of his wrath upon them. In these great storms of the passions, which rock the foundations of polities, human intelligence, elicited by the fierce collision, flashes like the lightning of Heaven. But if I dwell much upon these awful subjects, I shall be considered as a *bird of ill omen*. I often admire the wisdom and the justice of the laws: I am often shocked at their inconsistency and inefficacy. I glory in public institutions: I am disgusted at their perversion. I see the objects both of these laws and these institutions

turned aside, to serve the basest passions of our nature, and to promote all that is at variance with our reason or our humanity ; and I sink into the anguish of despair, when I think that often there exists no other remedy but such as these dreadful and sweeping storms produce.

But it will be said, that herein I have constantly argued on the one side, as if all the malice arose on the side of the governors, and none on the part of the governed. To this I answer, that the condition of the State or kingdom is always the test of the wisdom and the justice of the governors ; and that country which is governed with the most consistency of political justice will be the most tranquil, and consequently the most flourishing : for private people will then have leisure to attend to their private affairs. Mankind are not so enterprizing and fool-hardy as to strive to overturn a State, or commit treason against it, if it were wisely and justly governed : the majority are too fond of their ease, of their lives, of their properties to countenance such designs. In

every State there are wicked, desperate men, who seek to better their fortunes, or gratify their malice, by turbulence and bloodshed ; who are, as it were, constantly lying in wait for the opportunity of striking ; these are the tyrants out of power, who desire to become tyrants in power ; and their energies are called forth by the tyrants in power. Philosophically speaking, there is an affinity between them ; the basis of their character is the same, and the one plays into the other's hands. I say, therefore, that no man but a madman acts without some hopes ; and the hopes of all men toward overturning the State, are the ill government thereof. The simplest laws, aided by the good sense and the love of ease of the people at large, are sufficient to bring those men to punishment, and to crush their endeavours towards spoliation. But harsh measures, and much alarm, and much clamour, upon the subject, by the Rulers of the State, indicate sinister intentions : that *they* are, in fact, the conspirators, who desire its overthrow ; only that they are more cunning and discreet in compassing

their designs. Thus should I caution a people who desire tranquillity: look to your law-givers; be sparing of granting your money, for it is by your own facility in this respect that all political evils flow upon you—then you are awakened from your dreams by ruin and public convulsion. The first and natural deductions of our reason prove to us that we quit a state of nature, and enter into a state of society, to preserve our *property*, our life, and liberty. We frame severe laws for this purpose, and inflict severe punishments, even unto death; our youth are carefully educated in the principles of respecting these valuable heritages: how comes it, therefore, that nations are ever embarrassed or ruined? Because in every state, among every people, there is a corresponding spirit of rapine and destruction, together with that of order and preservation; and because the former, arising from our selfish and more tumultuous passions, often gains the ascendancy. Man, more cunning than the laws, eludes them; by power, terror, cajolery, and corruption, he contrives to waste, despoil, and dissipate the wealth of

the community to which he belongs; he produces a few brilliant results from exertion, and consequently he is called a great man, and cried up to the skies as a demigod, by those who have fattened upon the public spoliation; and we, the mass, his miserable dupes, drag out a toilsome and fettered existence;—public ruin is brought on by the artful cry of public safety:—public safety is the cloak that covers the ambition, the hatred, and the rapacity of all governors. The weak and superstitious are excited by priestcraft; the enthusiastic by loyalty; the rapacious by the desire of riches; the timid by the fear of the enemies' sword! These are the cups and balls with which the jugglers amaze and cajole the crowd! Our ears are tickled; our eyes dazzled; our senses bewildered; our hearts are softened, and our folly consummated. Then we wring our hands; but still we exclaim, "what great men our nation boasts of!" Men who have squandered millions, and slaughtered hundreds of thousands! Our enemies (those are our neighbours) are humiliated; vanity and malignity puff up our hearts, and chase

from them reflection. The same baits again are laid for us ; and, gudgeon-like, we again bite. Again and again we shall bite—for human nature is ever the same.

In my opinion, it is a most happy direction of a statesman's mind when he is educated in metaphysical rather than mathematical principles ; when he relies more upon the subjective than the objective. In the latter case, he sees only the immediate and positive application of power ; he judges, decides, and acts for the moment only ; his efficient causes are required to produce only sudden and dazzling effects ;—dazzling, because surprising and unexpected. In the other case, he calculates possible and probable quantities ; distant contingencies are contained within his scope. The mathematical statesman individualizes man ; the metaphysical statesman generalizes him ; and decides my proposition, that the human mind is the channel for the operation of great principles. The first lives in time, seems impatient of its momentary loss ; the latter dwells without time, and calculates the great results of the operation

of principles. In which of the two exertions of intelligence lieth the greatest wisdom—in a knowledge of the actual state of things only, and their immediate application, in various ways; or, a calculation upon remote contingencies, founded upon the weighing of possibilities and probabilities? Great and sweeping schemes inspire confidence; when founded on due proportions, they flow into our minds without surprise, and plunge us into futurity; whereas if we think upon all occasions of the present application of power only, we govern men like brutes: we suppose the absence of their reason, and trample upon their rights with insolent barbarity. The justest and most righteous men have ever held, that a foreign enemy and a domestic tyrant in nowise differ; that if it be lawful to set upon and repel the inroads of the one, it is also lawful to destroy the other. The sweetest balm that can be administered to our troubled hearts is to contemplate the heroic deeds of the destroyers of tyrants and usurpers.

But let me not be thought to convey the

notion, that I undervalue the study of the mathematics. I consider them the basis of the soundest mode of reasoning; the foundation of metaphysical deductions; they contain eternal truths, concluded by pure intelligence. Thus it is, that the science of government, the highest we know of, should not be contracted within a geometrical circle, but be extended in the whole circle of our affections also. If, in ascertaining this circle, the mode used by geometricians is found to be precise and conclusive, then let it be used. But, at all events, let us strive to deduce probable quantities from possible quantities—this is the province of pure intelligence. Thus I have formed in my own mind the following conclusions:

1. That man is the highest intellectual phenomenon of nature that we know of: he is in nature: that is, he is subject to the eternal laws of the universe.

2. He is surrounded by multifarious existences, all governed by the same laws; consequently the power of two or more being greater than the power of one, the power of

these existences, that is, the motion of the visible appearances of nature, is greater than any one of them : consequently man is directed, governed, and determined.

3. The operations of the laws of nature, that is, the motion of extended and apparent objects, are secondary causes : the invisible power which hath originated these objects, and given the first impulse to motion, and which afterwards sustains it, is God.

4. Man is conscious of these operations, and this motion, by his intellectual faculties, which is the concrescence of the results of his sensations ; the channel, therefore, between God and man is intelligence, which flows in the proportion of infinite to finite intelligence. This is the true revelation of God's will : because infinite intelligence must act, generally, on finite intelligence, the one being more extended than the other.

5. Moral and physical causes are one and the same, because both are so intimately connected that we know not how to separate them—both being secondary to the great first cause, their results must be the same, and

consequently must be both agreeable to His will.

6. Thus all things exist under two kinds of necessity: first, the necessary, immutable laws of nature; and secondly, the direction which secondary causes receive from a first cause, that is, the will of God.

7. This conviction produces moral happiness, though we may be labouring under physical ill: *because it will convince us that there is no alternative, and that it is the condition of our existence.* All positive good, therefore, is contained in existence, and all positive ill in non-existence: mixed ill and good being the necessary condition of existence; and existence being contradistinguished to non-existence, which is ill, positive ill cannot be said to attach to any condition of existence.

8. Existence, therefore, being positive good, and God being the author of all good, God is the author of all existences.

9. The power of God, then, is commensurate with the variety and extent of existences, each existence or being hath a por-

tion of that power sufficient to sustain its own being or existence.

10. The duration of existences, or beings, is a co-existing quantity with the quantity of the energy or power attached to each.

11. That conditional inconvenience, which is termed moral and physical ill, attached to beings or existences, is in proportion to their want of energy.

12. Abstract energy is the first attribute of God; consequently the more powerful our energies, the closer our affinity to the Divinity.

13. Beings are perfect in proportion to their energy.

14. Energy and perfection both tend to the seeking of good and the avoidance of ill.

15. Our passions are the keys of our frame, played upon by external objects.

16. Extinguish the senses, and man remains a statue: all intelligence is therefore demonstrated through the senses, and in man.

17. There are three operations of intelligence:—the sense comes in contact with an

object ; it conveys an image to the faculty which we have of perception, which is an idea ; the mind draws a conclusion ; an imperative motive to action springs from that conclusion.

18. The force of the passions is a quantity co-equal to the energy of the sense.

19. Time, and extent, and space, are terms in reference to the universe that are inadequate, and are measurements relative to our views. Our more accurate definition should be, the *universe exists* : because it is perpetually present to our sensations ; our sensations being in the universe.

20. In our present modification, we cannot conceive God to be out of the universe, for we cannot conceive existences out of the universe.

21. The universe, then, must be one and an entire whole, connected and regulated by general and special laws,—or rather what we call special laws,—deductions from general laws.

22. God is only concluded by our intelligences, from his great attribute power ; and

not coming into contact with our sensations, we can form no adequate idea of his mode, or form, or substance; universal power necessarily contains within itself universal good: for it is the only standard that we can measure good by. Therefore universal abstract power, having the capacity of coming into contact, conveys to our intelligence the idea of God, or rather is contained in the idea of God:—thus the essence of God is contained in the idea of God.

23. God, existing from the force of his own energy, must be a first existence: because energy must be a first creative cause,—we can remount no higher than creative energy; God is therefore identified with creative energy. But as the existence of God is not contained within time, it cannot rigidly be termed creative energy, because *creation supposes time*; our more rigid definition should be, God is the *sustaining energy: because God and the universe are not contained within time*. Time, eternity, and infinity confuse the notion of the universe, which hath the qualities of actuality and reality. Without the universe there can

be no existence, since the universe contains all existence. Creation and extinction suppose time and space, and are particular terms; the universe being a general term, excludes, then, the notion of its creation and extinction, because it excludes time and space, as general terms. Creation, then, means modification and formation; the universe exists, then, out of time; modification, or formation within time.

24. God, then, wills and acts from the force of his own energy; then he wills and acts from necessity: for the necessity of his existing, and the necessity of his willing and acting, are a consequence of an intelligent existence.

25. God is infinite, therefore he cannot be a *person*, for personality and infinity are incongruous; and personality supposes corporeity—infinite corporeity, then, would be the universe. Personality also supposes locality, for no person or body can be in two places at one and the same time; and therefore individual personality and infinity are incongruous. God being infinite and eternal, his es-

sence is commensurate with the universe, and therefore he hath the attribute of a particular providence ; and because a particular, therefore a general providence. This particular providence is the channel to the determinations of individual beings : for if God be infinite, his contact is infinite also. Infinite contact creates of necessity individual providence, therefore all subordinate existences are under the guidance of a particular providence.

26. The power of God is adequate to the necessity of its exertion : hence it cometh into contact, because power cannot act efficiently without contact. Hence the immutable laws of Nature, immutability being derived from adequate proportion ; that is, a proportion so adequate as to be infinite, universal, omnipotent. *The Deity, then, is universal.*

27. Adequacy, actuality, and energy being three attributes of the Divinity, God neither loves nor hates ; love and hatred being finite passions of finite modes. Pure intelligence being a power adequate to its exertion, is in-

capable of impediment. Love and hatred being impediments to the exertion of pure intelligence, cannot be felt by the Divinity, whose essence is pure intelligence. God, therefore, loves the universe, and the beings it contains, intellectually, and not naturally; that is, with the love of the preservation of their types or modes. Hence types, modes, and essences continue to exist, sustained by the intellectual love of God; and from this love springs also that mode of things which we term harmony, which exists in the congruity and incongruity of things. Were God to love naturally, and not intellectually, he would cease to be God: for Nature is the exemplification of his ideas with regard to finite beings or substances; for natural love is contained in the infinite intellectual love of God.

28. As the vitality of the universe is manifested in the operations of perpetual motion, so the essence of man's intellectual existence lies in hope, which supplieth his motives, and is the main spring of his action.

29. Our action is, then, excited and sus-

tained by hope,—for the desire of good, and the fear of evil, are principles contained in the idea of hope.

30. The vitality of the universe, that is, its existence in all its modes and their essences, are the ideas that God hath formed of the universe, its component parts, and modes; then these ideas, and the thinking faculty of God, is anterior to all time, or rather time is a quantity contained within these ideas.

31. Our thinking faculty, that is, our power of generating ideas, is a finite power, contained within the infinite power of God.

32. The infinite, divine, ideal intelligence, or infinite power of generalizing ideas, is manifested and expressed in the appearances and reality of things.

33. The reality of things constitutes their eternal presence; thus the actuality of the universe extinguishes the generality of time, and causes time to be a quantity equal to the measurement of special existences.

34. God and the universe are not, therefore, contained in the idea of time, consequently they have had no beginning, nor can

they have any end; they are without time, for the essence of God is actuality.

35. As the natural modes of things are the ideas that God hath formed of them, so artificial modes of things are the ideas that man hath formed of them, the one finite, and the other infinite.

36. Time, therefore, is a quantity contained in the universe, and not the universe on it: the essence of the universe being reality and actuality.

37. The final cause of all things is actuality, or existence; discernible beings by means of reproduction. Indiscernible essences, such as intelligence, being contained within the universal essence of intelligence, must of necessity have a prolonged existence; that is, an existence coequal to the essence of God, because the one is contained within the other; inasmuch as that which is finite of the same quality must be contained within that which is infinite. Matter, from its discernibility, loses its mode or quality, but not its essence, and in other modes becomes infinite;

so with intelligence, which being one and indivisible, contains within itself the principle of indestructibility.

38. The soul, then, is an essence, and not a mode; were it a mode, it could be diminished by the diminution of parts of our frame. But as it is the essence of thought, and as thought is indiscerptible, it must be an essence; it is the stamina of the frame; that essence which holds its discernptible atoms together, and its visible characteristic is motion. The dissolution or destruction of the frame disentangles it, because, like seed, it grows as it were in the frame; and, like seed, it is strong or weak in proportion to the excellence of the soil. It is, then, the agglutinative principle which holds man together. As to separated essences, we cannot speak of them, having no experience; they appear ever to be conjoined. Thus humanity is the essence of man; without man we cannot conceive humanity.

39. Therefore, if the essence of God is not contained within time, so must human intelli-

gence not be contained within time, because we discover God only through our intelligence ; hence a sympathy and an affinity between our intelligence and divine intelligence ; because, through our intelligence the will of God is expressed ; because without intelligence we should not know God : therefore our intelligence is continued in the essence of God ; therefore it is eternal.

40. *Non constat*, from the universality and non-corporeity of the Divinity ; the destructibility of finite intelligence ; because it appeareth to our sensations only in a finite mode. *Non constat*, that that which is indiscerptible should be destructible ; divisibility and destructibility are one and the same ; indivisibility and indestructibility are one and the same. But, *non constat*, also, that identity should be preserved *between finite intelligence in one mode, and finite intelligence in another mode ; or finite intelligence becoming infinite* : because if intelligence becomes infinite as to duration, it must become infinite as to space, because duration and space

are actuality, and reality and actuality are invariably infinite, or not infinite at all. Intelligence, therefore, is infinite and indivisible, although the mode of its phenomena appeareth through the medium of the senses to be finite.

CHAP. II.

By the contemplation of such propositions, which I considered as self-evident, at least to my mind, that had always been in the habit of analyzing those subjects that presented themselves before it, I gradually calmed the agitations of my breast, and I began to repose with tranquillity upon the lap of Nature.

Analytical inquiry is the balm of a troubled spirit ; we learn a lesson from it, that teaches us to rise superior to the numberless vexations that surround us ; the pride and oppression of kings ; the meanness and malignity of courtiers ; the sickening venality and corruption of politicians ; the madness and folly of the giddy multitude ; the cruel insanity of religious fanaticism ; the hypocrisy of philanthropic projectors ; the matchless im-

pudence of lawyers, and the whole gang of pickpockets, whether they grace the drawing-room, or hustle us in the street. I began to pardon the bustling folly and madness of these wretched, silly, self-important beings, and to discover that by looking deep into social existence, that even in the blind progress of their folly and vices, something might be discovered that might be of use to mankind in the mass; and I turned from the frightful picture that I had been beholding, to look into a sort of mirror that reflected the great scheme of *optimism*; because self-love, which is the abstract essence of every vice, may perchance extend itself into social support. Let us, then, in our view of a majestic whole, overlook petty deformities. Henceforth, let me no longer scrutinize with microscopic eyes; my mind, disburthened of that load of self-responsibility that vanity and ignorance had burthened it with, buoyant, soared above external circumstances. Wheresoever my wandering footsteps led me, I viewed in Nature's plan the great architect's skill and care; into whatsoever countries my destinies

conducted me, I still found mankind essentially the same; impelled by the same motives, tossed about by the same passions; bringing upon himself the *idea* of his own unhappiness; from the ignorance of his own nature, and from not rightly understanding the due proportion between cause and effect. I pitied his blindness, when he propounded the existence of abstract ill; because to maintain its existence is to maintain that universal motion is ill; then universal vitality is ill; then positive existence is ill:—for without motion neither existence, vitality, good, nor ill could exist. I discovered that the enlightened few, to whom these opinions were self-evident truths, were as far removed from the common herd, as the capacities of that herd were from the herd of brutes that supplied their food. Thus, then, to the enlightened few, no moral abstract ill exists in the world; to them every physical evil is a precept or guard against a greater—a necessary mode of our existence. Who, but the ignorant, repine? Ignorance and barbarism, then, are the

teeming parents of gratuitous misery ; they are not to be found alone in the arid deserts of Africa ; they infest the capitals of the most pretended civilized nations in Europe. It is by an attempt at a more accurate knowledge of *man*, that we may endeavour to improve his condition ; indeed, the politer of the Ancients seemed to have adopted this notion, and to have profited by it : in the primary structure, in the health, in the spirits of the human race, mainly depends their happiness.

In taking an anatomical survey of them, how many diseases are the effect of their mode of life, and how many vices are diseases ! Well, I lay down a broad position, for I boldly assert that virtue lies in the natural affections. Lawgivers, you betray your trust, when you violate or invade the natural affections. Astrologers, talk not to me in your mysterious dialect. Follow Nature, and Nature's plan. How many diseases have we inherited, both of the *mind* and the body ! These are so many just and inevitable punishments, for our deviation from harmony ; so many

impairings of that quality of energy, which was allotted to the share of each individual, as part of the vital atoms of the universe.

Is it not, then, in the power of the human race to ameliorate their condition? Aye, when the hurricane of the passions blow them into that direction. But let us remount to first principles. The first care is, then, in the generation of individuals. Have the natural affections nothing to do here? In this respect some nations have been more happy than others; have allowed a greater latitude in the choice of their mates, not only among the higher orders, who are the governors and directors of the commonweal, but have placed the lower orders in that political position, that their natural affections should have a greater play; for they have not encumbered their existence by a thousand harsh, tyrannical, petty restraints, or compelled them to *be the mere drudges after existence*; not giving them a cheap compensation for all their ills, in somniferous advice only. Let us, then, ask of physicians how many disorders are hereditary; how many might thus

be expelled from a nation ; and again, how many are results of such and such combinations. Nature hath given the sexes, when in a healthful condition, that is, both of mind and body, a sort of instinctive admiration of beauty,—that is, just proportion, and harmonic sympathy ; and this sympathy of nature, if it be let alone, and not forced out of its ordinary march by peevish constraint, or any other adventitious circumstances, will be founded on sympathetic attraction ; and two human beings will find their own level—that is, sympathetic attraction. This will not be so much the case in brutes, particularly such as have been domesticated, and therefore somewhat forced out of their natural inclinations ; because in human beings the sympathetic organs are of a finer texture, and capable of being spun out into a larger web than in brutes, though the latter have particular senses more acute. Sickly appetites are the sources of extravagant sensual vices—for sickly appetites and depraved appetites are one and the same ; all deviations from natural affections are the result of sickly

appetites. Where habits or accidents have not intervened, sickly appetites are frequently to be deduced from the original sin of the primary combination, which led to the origin of the particular being. I speak in these rigid terms, because in this inquiry I wish to keep clear of that principle called morals: for I hold that, generally, morals are a deduction from physics, and not *vice versâ*. It was this happy union of *mens sana in corpore sano*, an adage most ungrateful to all mysteryarchs. Thus the fundamental happiness of beings first depends upon the original energy of their construction, which depends upon their generation. We may ring all the changes that language affords upon the terms Virtue and Vice: we may term it energy or debility, selfishness or disinterestedness, love or hate, courage or cowardice—all are intellectually synonymous. For instance: what is religion? the love of God. What is the love of God? the love of Nature—the confidence in good fortune; the hope of a good direction—the abstract desire of good—the full play of the natural affections—the conclusion

of eternal justice, from the conviction of absolute decrees. Then comes the love of man ; the admiration of harmony—of due proportion ;—the worship of God is the worship of nature, is the search into nature ; the search into nature is wisdom—then wisdom is piety. Here, then, is a solution of the principles of religion ; we obtain eternal happiness for our species—and that part of the species that flows from ourselves ; we inflict otherwise upon that *line of the type* eternal punishments. This, it is true, is the outward worship of the Divinity : but there is an inward conviction, springing from our imperfect knowledge of second causes, which is supplied by the faculty of Hope ; thus constituting the grand scheme of demarcation between us and brutes. This faculty of hope, then, belongs to our pure intelligence, and not to our sensations ; but is the result of the concrescence of these sensations. This is what particular religionists mean by singleness of spirit. But the whole scheme of social happiness and virtue is founded upon the natural affections, which

lie in a circle, growing by degrees. The more families are concentrated, the stronger will be the operation of these natural affections, because they will be confined in a narrower circle. Hence I am an advocate for all political systems which encourage family concentration, rather than the improving of society by means of monastic and philanthropic societies,—for positive religions aim at extending families beyond blood, and pretend that God loves this and that enlarged family particularly. These are the effects of the first philosophy: which being very refined, degenerated into mystery; and by the help of a little vanity, pretended a closer affinity to the Deity than its morals could boast. Family concentration is congruous with *political* liberty; family diffusion is congruous with *civil* liberty. Hence I like the direction of the first rather than the second, because it gives a fuller play to the natural affections. Hence that great and politic people, the old Romans, laid great stress upon these principles, which led to their noble aristocratic republic, rather than the vain,

giddy democracies of Greece. Not that I object to the public instruction of youth—far from it; but what I distaste is a general system, that goes to alienate and disperse the natural affections, for some pretended advantage in some positive religion. Missionaries, mysteriarchs, jugglers, astrologers, are all ministers of the kingdom of darkness,—men who pretend that the children of the people at large should be removed from their parents' care, to be placed out of the reach of their contamination;—a principle more base and selfish cannot be avowed, because it is to *concentrate civil power*—and more dire in its consequences, than any vice or crime that may result by leaving them to follow even the bad example of their *depraved* parents. Of a piece with this scandal are our hypocritical, knavish penitentiaries. The serpent lies hid in the grass—here it is that a sneaking, grovelling power is aimed at, that its seekers have neither the talents nor the courage to seize boldly. If I am to choose between two rival factions, give me that of the sagacious Sylla, who looked to

the preservation of his order, and the due proportion of power in the Republic, rather than that of the ambitious demagogue Marius, who sought only his own exclusive elevation.

But what a digression my pen hath run me into ! A well-assorted marriage, then, is the epitome of eternal rewards ; it may place such beings as may flow from it, in such a happy direction, that eternal happiness may be the consequence. An ill-assorted marriage visits its original sin upon generation and generation ; madness, and a thousand loathsome diseases, which are the latent causes of the most frightful vices. Here, then, is an exemplification of eternal punishments. Mankind need not plunge into the kingdom of darkness for eternal punishments and rewards ; he finds enough of them in his own planet. Man need not speculate upon other worlds, as the abode of the Deity ; he finds Him in his own. Let him consult his experience in his search into nature,—there he may listen to His advice. His expectation of other worlds belongs to his pure intelligence,

exemplified in hope, in his conviction of the eternal principles of justice.

The energy of man, therefore, depends upon his birth; next upon his education; then upon his parents; and these principal contingencies of his being will superinduce his habits. I place little to the account of climate: for experience hath taught us that the effects of all climates, at different periods of the history of the world, have been postponed to the system of education adopted. In truth, his temperament is modified in some slight degree by climate, but not so effectually as to supercede more powerful determinations.

How well most of the ancients understood this theory! And we in England, with pride I say it, have brought up our youth more according to their model than most other nations. Their gymnastics formed a most essential part of their wise and healthful regimen. Nay, even their shews of gladiators, and other public exercises, had more of morals in them than of mere sport. They well understood the atmospheric

influence of the imagination; they bent the affections of the mind upon what was difficult, and even painful to acquire :—thus through these briars they plucked their garlands of honour. Nor were the middle ages backward with their noble tournaments,—a fine excitement for the most heroic courage, and the exactest sense of justice. Men, absorbed by the pursuit of the acquisition of wealth, become mere sensualists, and selfish drivellers. For what object is all this increase of wealth? To swell population—that is, to swell the bills of mortality. Then we make a dunghill of our country—for to swell the number of births is to swell the number of deaths.

I am not in contradiction with myself when I say, that existence and reproduction are positive good. I include the *mode* of existence. The more crowded that existence, the smaller the share of good in the mode; the greater in general as to existence itself. Pestilence, war, and famine are the dams and dykes of true proportion. Health!—health is the first object—the parent of Virtue. Look at the glorious Olympic—here health gained her

crown of triumph ! The speaking marble, and the breathing bronze, were the offspring of the Goddess of Health. Could the artist have caught the inspiration of creation (which phrase I contend means modelling, for I deny time as a general term), from among the slovenly, misshapen drudges after the mere means of existence ? He lived in the midst of the pupils of heroic enterprize. And now we think that the models of his labour were ideal,—what a satire on man is our own age ! How graceful, may we exclaim, is it in a Prince to lead his people in such a direction ! Here, then, is one great office of a King ; and here we admire kingly government. Kingly government, then, when restrained by an aristocracy, and animated by a democracy, is the cupola which covers the temple : the dome which, filling the air, gives solidity, grandeur and dignity to that temple, and marks where the city lies. It is the object that is first discovered by the approaching traveller ; it is the concentration of the majesty of the nation ; it is the rallying point of our duty to the whole commonweal ; it is

a short method to understand the active power of the people at large; it simplifies the more complex idea of the sovereignty of the people. Thus we submit to it. But, let us ask, did the Arts wither in the middle ages? The sculptor's chisel was blunted; his fine taste lost, by the mysticity of those ages;—unseemly sights of cloistered ascetics, and of martyred fanatics, could ill harmonize the quarry. The painter was more fortunate,—for his business was to describe the passions, because his art is more mysterious. But see in fair Italy! how oft he flew from the horrid, hirsute host of saints, to throw himself into the arms of beauty: for Venus and her young God—they who had inspired the Gentiles—now claimed adoration in another form. All hailed the mystic and gentle Madona, for her melancholic and downcast eye was the type of modesty and religious love. Thus have the arts followed the flow of the passions.

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passions, because his art is more mysterious.
But so to this day; now off he flew from
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himself into the arms of beauty; for Venus
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the Greeks—now claimed attention in an-
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CHAP. III.

INNUMERABLE are the ills that an overflowing population brings upon mankind; for the machinery necessary to maintain its existence thrusts Nature out of the *social* order, and almost establishes a new code of general laws. The original lineaments of mankind are hardly discernible; new diseases are created, which are not confined to the human and brute species alone, but insinuate themselves into mother earth! For the sites of the abodes of condensed population, whenever that population hath been swept away by the hurricane of the passions, are infected with a deadly atmosphere. Here the Philanthropists have been at work! Those collectors of under-fed population!

Let us consider a man at the moment of

his birth. Wherein lies the original sin of it, if it be not the physical defects of his parents, which hath entailed upon his frame some imperfection, which, in the development of his organs, leads to some ulterior disgrace? Take the whole circle of the Equator, or the space from Pole to Pole, and we remark a difference of hue only, or a slighter difference of stature; he exhibits the same anatomy, the same blood; the same organs animate, and give him motion. Where, then, may we ask, is the moral original sin of his birth? The *physical sin* may be, that he was born in the torrid or frozen zone: but then this is only a diminution of happiness;—possibly not even that, since his form and temperament is adapted to his climate, and he could have formed no comparison between his state and that of others. God being infinite, and his power universal, he hath come into contact and hath formed man in every climate by the same general laws. Some who are born in the temperate zone may think themselves preferred; those who bask in the torrid zone may form the same estimate of their own

happiness. I see the same identity of organs : I conclude an identity of being. Man, then, is the same, essentially ; his general destiny must be the same ; consequently his rights must be the same (I beg pardon of the Missionaries!). There he lies in his cradle, without projects, views, or conceits ;—his organs begin, however, instantly to develop themselves—for, somehow or other, he hath the germ of pure intelligence tied to him—which soon opens a new existence, and the highest on our planet. Light, heat, cold, hunger, or thirst, assail him through the channel of the senses. His first effort of existence expresses itself in sound ; thus his organs develop themselves. He imitates that which he discovers through the medium of his sight and touch ; he uses his hands first, because they have a less fatiguing function to perform than his legs, which have a double office—to support and move. His voice modulates itself by degrees, according to the modulation of the voices that invade his ears ; he proportions sounds to things, and thus establishes an audible conventional intercourse. Now

he receives instruction ; he is trained in the habits of his parents, his brethren, and his countrymen ; he becomes subject to their laws ; they teach him *their interpretation* of the *law divine*, civil and political, which they practise. Thus he is what he is, and of necessity his mind opens, and receives the impressions of the objects that surround him. He then receives these impressions according to the firmness or imbecility of his particular nervous system ; the density or attenuity of his fluids ; the rigour or laxity of his general system. Thus are his intellectual faculties supplied, and take their tone, their force, or their weakness. Thus he becometh influenced by his imagination, which is an indescribable, subtle atmosphere, that surrounds him, and connects him with all the phenomena of nature, or the artificial works of man : and which sways his determination. Now he begins to receive what is called moral instruction ; that phrase, being interpreted, meaneth, to my comprehension, the use of his passions. These passions being the keys of his movement, the master-key, that un-

locks them all, being Hope ; that being the main-spring of his whole machine. So, then, there can be no abstract, general, or infinite ill in any passion. Finite ill, or particular evil, flows from the abuse of a passion, or, to speak with more exactness, from the passions not observing a due proportion. This want of due proportion arises from the configuration of the organs of the individual, or the atmosphere of his imagination at the time ; which contains within it all the channels for the operations of affinities, attractions, repulsion, sympathy, and antipathy ; for our imagination is the theatre, in which all our outward impressions dance,—though it may work upon recollection ; but that recollection is only the permanent impression of outward objects ; it is struck by all objects around it. Thus we have our being thrilled or benumbed ; thus we expand with joy or are shrunk with grief ; gloomy weather, horrid sights, disgusting smells, nauseous conversations, all imperiously connect us with surrounding objects, and determine our will. Hence I conclude that the imagination, in the philosophical

sense, dwells within us ; and *vice versá* in a natural sense ; that is, without us, because though ignorant persons conceive that the eye hath the faculty of seeking an object, it is *vice versá*, the object strikes the retina of the eye, and thence is conveyed to the brain. So with the imagination, the eye being one of its main conductors. Thus it springeth from the atmosphere that surrounds, or rather encompasseth our being, so as to excite our joy or grief, our courage or fear,—because these excitations of feeling are all actual and present, and have by induction only a relation with hope, which is expectation ; and therefore a deduction, and dwells, philosophically speaking, without ourselves. From the frequent contemplation of such deductions spring out a presentiment, which is an intimate conviction of a judgment of eternal justice.

By imagination, then, I must explain again, that I mean that which influences our feelings or sensations, and improves our judgment, which is a quality in closer affinity with pure intelligence ; but of so abstruse a

nature, that we can hardly analyze it accurately. The sensations are within us, because they are part of our frame ; but the imagination is that atmosphere of outward objects that overwhelms our sensations, and bewilders, delights, or affrights the thinking faculty. Thus the mind, or thinking faculty, is accordingly determined : thus results from the imagination a tumult of the mind ; then the mind is driven in the current of the tide ; it drops down the tide, because it gives way to the strongest emotion. Memory excites the imagination : but what is memory ? The prolonged impression of outward objects. Then these results come to one and the same thing. Hence the variety of feeling, and modes of feeling and thinking, under different circumstances and at different periods of life. Rigidly speaking, the imagination may work without hope—which is the anticipation of future events. The being of man is less complex the more we contemplate it, and it is governed by fewer general laws than we at first apprehend. Imagination for the most part is a dark atmosphere, and the more

we cultivate our pure intelligence, the more it is dissipated: for pure intelligence is like the sun, and shines through the clouds that encompass it. That pure intelligence exists is proved by the existence of eternal truths; the mathematical demonstration of a triangle proves its existence. In no case doth the atmosphere of imagination demonstrate itself more than in public executions: the sufferer is supported by it, and the anguish and horror of quitting life is banished often by the surrounding scene: by the presence of thousands of eyes and tongues. How few men possess solitary courage! Thus our being verges in the being of others. I have insisted much upon this hypothesis, because it is one of the most solid and immovable foundation, whereupon I build the theory of necessity.

Under the head of self-love all the passions are to be ranged—they form different branches of self-love; the strength of the passions spring from the strength, or in some cases, weakness of the particular organ of the sense. Possibly it may not be too broad a conclusion to assert, that ignorance constitutes abstract

vice ; and the greater the intelligence, the greater the virtue. But this conclusion requires a long and a most minute train of reasoning ; it is extremely abstruse and fatiguing : so much so, that I have pursued the thread in my own mind, and am convinced of it : I leave others to do the same. Indeed, one great means I have taken to solve this proposition is, to contemplate harmony and due proportion in their respective modes ; they are deductions, consequently allied to pure intelligence : for passion, out of due proportion, is the definition which I should give of vice.

I am aware that it is a thesis maintained, that vice hath a tendency to destroy itself ; because the experience of its effects, which its practice hath afforded, hath been decisive of its inconvenient consequences. This is one example, proving the influence of knowledge : because, were vice not hurtful, it would not be considered as vice. The human mind, when let alone, will naturally seek for and admire due proportion ; thus atheism and superstition, when not forced by certain adven-

titious circumstances, will both be rejected, and pure theism will ever become the conclusion of an unbiassed and calm mind.

Charity, one of the cardinal virtues, is a main point of morality, insisted upon in every code of positive religion. In the circumscribed views of the zealous votaries of particular religions, the exalted quality of charity is carried no further than to reach the particular members of that particular sect; and being carried no further, hatred and contempt supply its place, with regard to other sects. Hence it ceases to be charity; or, if you call it so, it becomes an odious vice,—not by its abuse, but by its non-extension, which maketh the love of one set of people practising certain rites, or professing certain opinions, a marked line of distinction between two sects. Thus in the large or abstract meaning, it here loseth its quality of charity, and becometh the converse. More extended knowledge, then, will carry our charity beyond the limits of one sect into another, and so on through the various denominations of abstract opinions held by the whole human

race. The quality of charity is to be understood by its proportion, therefore, if it be in proportion to a part or certain denomination only, of the human race, it is a vice ; if its proportion be a quantity equal to the extent of the human race, then it is a virtue.

Self-love, in its primary feeling, is manifested in self-defence ; includes in it every principle of action, from the appeal to law—justifiable war—homicide—to foul murder. Here the proportion of the motives to the object decides its virtue or its vice. Utility is the object : for it is the object of due proportion to seek utility. Hence, in a general sense, the distinction between the possible utility of a war and the certain criminality of a foul murder ; because utility depends on due proportion, and due proportion contains within it that famous proposition, “ Do as you would be done by ; ”—because proportion is the due assortment of parts to the whole, whether it be applied to a fabric of stone or a fabric of society. Now do we obtain a knowledge of due proportion by the exertion to its utmost extent of the power of our intelligence. Here

again is another illustration of the proposition, that virtue is the absence of ignorance. God, being the essence of pure intelligence, is opposed to all ignorance, because ignorance is a quality inapplicable to God; therefore God is the fountain of all goodness, because his essence excludes all ignorance; therefore the original proposition is true, that vice destroyeth itself, for the experience of its effects causeth its continuation to cease. At the head of the most odious of human vices, envy stands; *it is the most odious*, because it is that vice which is most destructive of human happiness; it impairs health, because it is a moral corroding cancer; thus it shortens the duration of life. Lawyers, players, and politicians are much subject to it: hence they are not so long-lived as those whose thoughts are more abstracted from surrounding irritating scenes;—women unmarried, for they have been disappointed in the *great object of their being*: the vice perpetually gnawing and preying upon the spirits, wastes the frame;—it is especially destructive of friendship, of fame;—in rulers it is the pretext for war; in

individuals of murder. Envy may justly be defined to be that hatred that one person hath for another, from some supposed or real advantage over them; ignorance fortifies this vice, and knowledge destroys it: because knowledge teaches us the *doctrine of necessity*; that things must be as they are, and therefore we discover the folly of being envious; because to be envious of the inevitable destiny of another, or to repine at *our fate*, which could not have been otherwise, consequently there could have been no remedy, can only be the result of the greatest ignorance. Therefore knowledge suppresseth envy. Indeed, a man might as well be envious of the swiftness of a horse, the strength of an elephant, or the wings of a bird, as to be envious of the destinies of another man, which have come down through all eternity, in the stream of successive causes; all things being of necessity, and beyond our controul, because the power of universal and perpetual motion exists.

Woman! you who in your native simplicity are arrayed in such loveliness! fly from this

disgusting vice ; in you destructive of your charms, your tenderness, and your love. More nauseating than sea-sickness, it is in you a proof of *coldness*, of half-taught morals, half instruction even of half the characteristics of your sex. She who is strong in her *womanhood*, is never envious ; the tender wife, the melting mistress, the teeming mother, hath no room for this venom to instil itself into her open pores, and flow through her full and fervid veins, and corrode her warm, buoyant, and healthful blood. Ripe with Nature's best joys, she excludes pure Nature's foil. Know, and feel your empire, and rest satisfied.

Demonology was a very splendid fiction of the poets. The notion of our disproportioned passions personified into an infernal spirit, first tempting, and then tormenting us, is the dramatic personification of actual vices. Thus they first seduce us, and then inflict the severest punishments. These allegories, like all ancient fables, contain moral instruction : —for instruction accompanied by mystery hath always had a great effect upon mankind in the mass.

But your political projectors first, and then your mock philanthropists; your great breeders and congregators of men together—these are the infernal spirits, that are at work;—these first seduce, cause the fall, and then punish mankind.

Thus they collect great crowds together, into particular states and cities; consequently they encourage the greatest appetency to wealth;—luxury follows—vices and crimes are the result. Here, then, we see two or three dogs together, grumbling for the same bone; the passions arising from selfishness are excited, and the fair enjoyment of the bounties of Providence are restricted. Prisons, gibbets, mad-houses, poor-houses, hospitals, conventicles, gaming-houses, are erected and filled. Here all the vermin that infest civil society flock together: usurers, mock patriots, swindlers, libellers, scandal-mongers, spies, informers, parasites, fanatics, atheists, pick-pockets, and philanthropists—*cum multis aliis*. Here we have corruption, knavery, chicanery, perjury, lying, oppression and cowardice. Here, then, the *Devil is at work*—the useful ally of *Astrologers*, or your teachers of

morals, independent of throwing man into a good direction. Are not these astrologers, then, the ministers of the kingdom of darkness? They cement its alliance with the civil magistrate.

Thus it is a problem yet to be solved, whether a great capital be even advantageous, even in point of political power, to a state; with regard to its moral and physical happiness, its disadvantages are obvious. In the first case, the question is to be decided in the negative, if the state is invaded, for the capital hath an interest of its own, independent of the people of the state at large, and of the government, founded upon its own peculiar habits: which are more gross, more selfish, more depraved, and more frivolous, than those of the country at large; because of the concentration of irregularly-got wealth, and idleness, inanity, a perpetual craving after novelty, to stir up the embers of desires: hence laxity, apathy, cowardice; for all the active passions having been worn out by their constant abuse, extraordinary excitations are required, to chase away the tediousness of existence. No moral instruction can contra-

vene their dire effects; all the powers of *preachers* will not avail against the physical direction of man, because it will not be a sufficient cause to counteract certain effects: therefore we may conclude that great capitals are alike destructive of the morals and the happiness of States; their destruction, or their decay, should fill us with joy, instead of regret. The inequality of the condition of the human species is more marked in great capitals: hence more woeful wretchedness; hence beings born and bred up more disgraced and disfigured by Nature; hence insolence and oppression on the one hand, and discontent and insubordination on the other.

We cannot dwell too much upon this subject; we cannot hail with too much joy or gratification every contingency that diminishes the extent of capitals, and circumscribes their demoralizing circle; powerful as are the effects upon states of the affluence of vast numbers congregated in capitals, the moral tendency is such as to degrade and dishonour, as I have said, human nature even in the person, form, and features of man.

Among the wealthy it engenders selfishness and vanity, the two most despicable and degrading vices of our nature. Rooting out honest pride and independence, the men become venal, the women vain; both consequently rapacious, extravagant and licentious, their spirits lose their natural elasticity, their carcasses become sodden and rancid; hence their virtue dwindles, for virtue springs much from health and corporeal vigour, which is the parent generally of mental vigour: the commonalty become noisy, cowardly, factious, inconstant; want of thrift, together with insolence and meanness, all these propensities take their turns. Religion here is oft a theatrical exhibition; preachers and actors have each their day: the ministers of God and the ministers of the police lay each of them their snares; all is speculation, false and hollow, aye, and rotten too. Why, then, should we weep over the decay or destruction of these hideous dens of humanity—these yawning tombs, that swallow up virtue and pure patriotism, and scatter about their entrance the husks and cinders of humanity? It

is a *crowning mercy* when they moulder into ruins.

For what purpose is all this slavery to obtain wealth? To enlarge the grave of Virtue in a large capital, forsooth! We run about the globe to obtain conquests—they contain the worst seeds of destruction of the parent State; they sap its pure patriotism, for they crowd it with *aliens*; they dissipate its force, and they lead us astray into the wildest notions of grandeur, which contain in them no real happiness, or ultimately solid wealth,—for this conquest, like your daughters when they come of age, drop off from you, either by marriage with another state, or from their intrigues. Look at the great and striking example of ancient Rome—could Augustus calculate upon the tranquil possession for his posterity of universal empire?—Universal empire, universal language, universal tranquillity, universal happiness are fine dreams, which we can never see realized in this life. The poor Catholic looks to them in the life to come, in Paradise; the Gentile, in the Elysian fields; the North American Indian hath his

dream also : he is to walk over a tree laid across a river ; if he be in a state of reprobation, he will fall in headlong, and be carried down the stream ; if he be elected, he will pass into a delightful, flowery meadow, where he will have moose deer in abundance. The Mahomedan is more sensual : he is to revel in delicious banquets, sumptuous palaces, encircled by crowds of black-eyed Houries. These are the joys of the life to come : but in this life, when we strive to follow or attempt to reach such an universal plan of transcendent happiness, we fail, because Virtue is the fire which is struck out of our flinty natures ; she alone is the recruiting power that ennobles man, and she is quenched in such a scene of sleepy monotony—unless, indeed, we desire to become Chinese.

What madness, then, to attempt first to make, and then to keep great and extended conquests ! What hath modern Spain gained, in our day, by all the blood that Pizarro and Cortez had caused to flow in torrents ? These extensive conquests breed up a race of men, born indeed in the parent state, and indige-

nous to it—but that is all; they leave their native land betimes in the morning of their life, to pass the most vigorous part of it among slaves: thus they serve years of apprenticeship to despotism; often steeped in licentiousness; witnessing human nature in its most wretched and degraded condition; and human exertion in its basest pursuit, that after gain, oftentimes without being too nice in the means of acquiring it. Then they return home, to debauch, and corrupt, and aid the notable disciples of despotism in corrupting their native land, and warping to their own villainous views, its institutions.

These men are *aliens* to every thing in their native land, except the power whereby it is governed; they sail like small craft, continually in the wake of that power.

It is from careful observation upon causes and effects, from drawing our philosophical notions from our experience: from studying well the organic constitution of man, his drift, his power, his energy, his habits;—the instinct he possesses, and the certain

directions into which his race hath fallen ; that lawgivers can hope to mend his condition, and to turn him into the best direction, by recurring constantly to first principles, and by not establishing things upon their abuse ; sifting and analyzing every thing according to the standard of human reason, the deductions of which always inculcate the doctrine of true proportions, and not, like fools and hypocrites, attempting to deny that human reason is sufficient for human government. If so, why such a quality as human reason at all ? and whence are we to derive instruction ? Human reason teaches us the most important conclusion that the whole of human kind can come to, namely, *that causes produce effects.*

Here, then, we obtain a key to unlock many mysteries ; here at once we may strive to give a good direction. I have ever maintained, that the pure, unadulterated, natural affections, are the primary exemplifications of virtue ; every institution in a state, therefore, that disturbs, impedes, or changes the original patriarchal compact, or family government

thereof, that steps in between the parent and the child, whilst the brood is young, are so many violations of the natural affections. I will not hear of the education of children being ameliorated by being taken out of the hands of their parents; I mean here not in schools subject to the parents' will, but institutions independent of their will; or that a little sorry reading or writing, taught them in a meagre sort of instruction, is any compensation. Liberty is not in the mouth—it is in the breast; the guardian of Liberty is not in the tongue, but in the hands. But men are now made polite, and then enslaved; this is a part of the vile system—little, miserable compensation, in paltry education, for the waste of their substance, and the loss of their liberty!

I have said before, and it is no new observation, that families are the epitomes of States: hence I love primogeniture; hence I detest a multiplication of laws, and all schemes of visionary improvement of philanthropic writers and legislators, whose vanity and tyranny prompt them eternally to be dealing out their numerous ameliorations; these false patriots and besotted good-willers to mankind never

recollect, that every new law is a link in the chain of servitude; and I rigorously acknowledge servitude only to be the first cause of causes, and that only because sound reason bids me submit. I loathe those coxcombical praters, who in divinity, and law, and politics, tell us of the high prerogatives of being fashioned after the mode, their crude and undigested, and flatulent schemes, would ordain.

If you would make a people, cowardly, and selfish, and base, run headlong into the philanthropic legislation; spare their lives at the expense of the public *virtue*. But we rush into futurity, and do *God's work*, and talk of saving a *soul alive*. A thief is a thief: then let him hang. Away with fanaticism, or hypocrisy; away with the kingdom of darkness, which suggests penitentiaries, and so many years of manacled slavery—all to save a contemptible life; all to feed fanaticism and hypocrisy; all to serve those who fructify and gather a rich harvest from the kingdom of darkness. Simple dogmas of religion, the *rigid unity of the Deity*; no postulates, no conventions with the *Divinity*; absolute and

immutable decrees, and stern morality, is the most fortunate direction in which we can throw a nation; it destroys selfishness, which is the parent of vice; and I had rather see among a people a *sprinkling* of crimes, than a *community* of vices: for the dignity of human nature is not injured by the one, whilst it is suppressed by the other. Nay, the crime of revenge, or rather the crime which revenge suggests, may have its origin in the most exalted sentiments of its virtue. How beautiful hath our great English philosopher, Bacon, defined revenge, in calling it “wild justice!” it is that noble, wild justice, which calls servile civilized mock justice back into its right beat. Justice, too refined, ceases to be justice—it becomes sophistry. Hence the delay of civil suits constitutes the height of injustice; it becomes monstrous tyranny, if the association of advocates thrive or fatten by such delay. Civil suits are, therefore, to declare just proportions between man and man: but how oft do they exhibit only the flowery meads for the law profession to batten upon—to them a garland of flowers, to

us a bed of thorns. Spiders! your *genus* have an affinity to the human race.

If, therefore, we admit this proposition, namely, that causes produce effects, we need seek no further for the clue to unravel any contingency of human life; we have then discovered the road to human happiness; a road that is unerring as any water-course, for all events flow like water; water flows downwards of necessity, or, extended, finds its own level. The water flows of necessity in a mode analogous to its composition; but we may, when not too widely extended, give it a direction: so may we hope to have a drift or a direction given to human events; just as the wind does to drifted snow. The difficulty is, how to originate a new direction; men cling to old directions from ignorance—from fear, from indolence, from want of that elastic spring which now and then develops its power in a human frame. New directions of mankind spring from the hurricane of the passions of congregated bodies. We see, then, Nature stedfast to her system of observing a true medium; extraordinary

qualities are rare, and have been produced to serve some great purpose. But Nature possesses a wonderful storehouse ; the more we search into it the more we find. There is yet enough left in it to animate, encourage, and reward the researches of future ages : for new combinations, and new modes of existence spring out after every discovery. In contemplating these things, our fancy riots, and our imagination expands itself co-equal with the universe : for we have discovered even the mechanism of the heavens ; we see the finger of God every where, and we at length discover that religion is the most rational, the most joyful, the most universal principle in being ; and that those who would render it *positive* or *exclusive*, or cruel or mysterious, are blasphemers and tyrants. I cannot shut my eyes from the truth, that when I perceive in a brilliant and sunny day the birds soaring through the air, the beasts frisking in the fields, and the fishes sporting in the water, that, animated by the genial warmth of nature, they enjoy not a *religious principle* ; this brings us back to the garden

of Eden, the primitive paradise of unsophisticated nature, where each animated being rejoices in its active faculties. What stronger exemplification of the whole tenor of my hypothesis, that virtue lies in the natural affections? And what are the natural affections? The *instinct* of animated beings; the full, free, and elastic enjoyment of *vitality*. Away, then, you dark and gloomy jugglers, who would poison our happiness with your ill-omened croakings; you set, like the raven on our left hand, foreboding gratuitous misery; you contrive our actual misfortunes, for you set us at variance with nature; you drive us out of her fair field into the dark forest of unspeakable horrors, which exists only in your capricious and wayward malignity. You aid the tyrant to hold us fast; you doom us to perpetual misery in this world, and you cheat us of the joys of the next, for you promise us what you know not. And I cannot but feel mortified, humiliated, and disgusted, that some men, cajoled by you, in the perversion of reason and common-sense, should have fixed the temple of their God in a charnel-

house, overhanging a hideous gulf of fiery sulphur and combustion.

When we look at man, and examine his stature,—his frame, his countenance, and his power of motion,—we cannot but conclude that he is formed for a high state of dignity and happiness. But, alas ! how much of this dignity is invaded, how much of his happiness is laid prostrate ! Look at him in his original state ; look at him in a degraded or corrupted state ! Look at the hero and the slave ! what discrepancy ! what a frightful chasm ! Is he the same being ? Hath he the same identity of being ? We are tempted often to cry out, hardly. Is this owing to the fall of Adam, or to tyranny and imposture ? that superinduces ignorance, and nourishes vices, to exert its hellish power. Look at a thousand babes that are sucking at their mothers' breast, and do you there discover this dissimilarity ? But here the dire effects of the fall would shew themselves. Look at them, when arrived at manhood :—here indeed will be a difference. Observe how some fortunate few shall have soared above the rest : so that an

indifferent spectator would exclaim, that they belong to an ideal race. Hence we are to charge this discrepancy upon the fall of their reason—that is the true exemplification of the allegory. Thus we have no occasion for *post-obit* punishments ; we have been visited by afflictions severe enough : for our fellows will be masters of our destinies when they are masters of our reason ; and they are masters of our reason when we are encompassed in darkness. Then we have fallen, and myriads of beings play over again the sad part of Adam. Beautiful and simple is the allegory of our first parents : how curious and instructive is its reasoning ! What consequences may we not draw from it ! Our *redemption*, then, means the recovery of our reason. Reason, innocent as the dove, and resplendent from the orient heavens, hovers over us ; her graceful wings expanded, she sprinkles us with the holy spirit of truth ; and sin and fear, which have been let loose by ignorance, are again chained up, and virtue reassumes her empire. This is the true commentary upon the original text ; this the simple expli-

cation of those holy mysteries. In our reason we discover God ; in our reason we work out our redemption ; in our reason we find eternal happiness ; by the use of our reason we are on a level with more perfect, ideal existences, and separate man from brutish beasts. Why should we then look at the Deity through a microscope !!

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CHAP. IV.

WHAT is ill? Is it grief, sorrow, or pain? Is it bodily, or intellectual? Is it acute or morbid? Doth it dwell within us or without us? Doth it lodge in the nerves or in the imagination? Why are my limbs racked with pain? Why are my nerves torn to pieces on the field of battle? Why am I cast into a dungeon, tortured, and excluded from the light and air of heaven, the most universal and equal gifts of Providence? Why am I reduced to beggary and starvation? Why is that offspring that hath sprung from my loins wasting in my sight for want of food, looking up with a haggard eye and a pallid countenance, to reproach me for *their being*, which my haughty reason tells me is alone positive good? Why are my nearest relatives and

dearest friends, the solace and joy of my existence, extinguished in death? Why am I covered with shame and dishonour, and punished with loss of life? Because all these contingencies are the consequence and condition of my being, and because without pain I could not enjoy pleasure; because sensitive existences must be subject to the one or to the other, or they would cease to be sensitive existences; because all these contingencies are the inevitable consequences of that sensitive existence which constitutes our being, when clashing with other similar beings; and if we carefully trace up evil to its root, we shall find it to be interwoven with our form, make, constitution, and modification. Let us take a man and a woman and anatomize them: first assuming that the object, end, and extent of their being is existence, reality, and actuality, together with the power of the reproduction of similar beings, *ad infinitum*.

I have laid down the proposition: remove the senses, and man remains a statue; the senses exist—they are then the origin of good and ill. The constituent parts of the human

frame, then, require what we term ill, even to ensure that existence. Bodily pain is the primary safeguard against bodily destruction; the warning against dissolution, and the chief incentive to precaution. Mental pain performs the same functions towards our moral existence. If the texture of our nerves were so tough that they could not be racked with pain, they could not be thrilled with pleasure; our being would stand still; hope would be absorbed; and perpetual motion, as far as regards our existence, would be arrested, and the Deity would cease to be the Deity—God's will being manifested through the principle of motion. The passions, which are an exemplification of intelligence, are seated in the senses, and the passions are the spur that is goading on perpetual motion in human beings, which is a most active part of the vitality of the universe. The passions are necessary, but their want of proportion is inconvenient and hurtful—that is ill—not their existence. How should we feel the delights of friendship, if we felt not poignantly the loss of our

friend, nor the apprehension of it? Who would propagate his species without the passion or ecstasies of love? or who would preserve his frame, if he were not warned by pain? Where, then, is positive evil? Shew it to me—demonstrate it to my understanding. It lieth in our frame, our constitution, our being; it is born with us—we are born in it. If sin exists, it is birth sin: for all moral qualities are evinced through the sensations; take their tone from the senses, and are tinged by them. Not so pure intelligence, which is an abstract quality,—manifesting itself, it is true, through all the sensations, but not influenced by them: for abstract definitions are *general*, and what are called moral accidents, or moral ill, are *particular*. As it relates to individual beings, pure intelligence is sprinkled more upon some than others. Is not this a mercy, then? As to what is termed positive ill, some have a larger share than others—it is according to their direction. Of what use, then, is prayer? say your free agents to necessitarians. We answer: we know not when our direction

may change ; what turn it may take ; how we may get out of a *bad one* into a *good one*. Besides, prayer and thanksgiving are two distinct things : they form an antithesis ; they refer to the past and future. Is it not as edifying to thank for the past, as to be asking for the future ? It is the difference between gratitude and importunity. Your free agents are a besotted race ; they understand not second causes ; their minds cannot reach the eternal series of successive causes ; they are atheists, though they know it not, for they place priests, kings, and magistrates before God !

But then, it is said, where is the necessity of ill ? To which it may be answered, where is the necessity of existences ? There are things of necessity which no reason can comprehend ; the distinction between light and darkness ; the necessity of admitting that three sides of an equilateral triangle are equal. God here lies under the same necessity as man, and must come to the same conclusion. Therefore if man exists, ill must exist, because that species of ill is part of his existence.

But then that is a finite, or relative definition or exemplification of ill, and not a general one. And ill in animals is the result of the operations of their vital motion. A tree hath a certain portion of vital motion by means of sap, of light, of fluids; but it hath not a sensitive existence: it may be blighted, or damaged, or shrivelled; but it hath no sensitive existence, therefore it cannot feel the relative ill of animals. A stone hath no vital motion, but still it hath an existence by means of a principle of adherence of certain particles, which may be ground into dust; therefore its solidity or extension is a principle of existence:—in fact, it is a mode. If a tree exists, it can be destroyed; a stone crushed; and an animal wounded; and the pain resulting from the wound of the latter is as necessary a consequence of its existence as the crushing into dust the particles of sand of which the stone was composed. All existences are necessary, *because they are existences*, and because the essence of the universe is its *actuality*, and because they are contained in the idea of God's power;

and if they are necessary, their modes are necessary : therefore the contingencies which occur to these modes, or which spring out of these modes, are necessary also. I say, then, after this digression, let us anatomize a man and a woman. Every contingency that can possibly fall upon these beings, are the necessary results of their existence : every part is justly adapted ; and of necessity adapted to the existence, the conservation, and the reproduction of that existence. From the construction of the parts of their frames, and their functions and operations, and their power of movement, results their liability to be out of order ; this is in their nature ; this is therefore of necessity. The length of their natural duration is as the force of their original energy : for from the moment of their birth there has existed a train of physical causes, of moral accidents, that have all formed a link in one chain, to the moment of their dissolution,—so that chance cannot exist. And accidents have their causes and effects—so that moral responsibility, in the strict sense of the import, meaneth nothing.

We are, then, the creatures of these circumstances, of these habits, and the children of the various contingencies that every instant fall from the universal activity of the world, from the universal power of perpetual motion. Motion, as it were, exhausting or destroying its wheels, which are every species of existences, causeth the necessity of reproduction ; and thus motion is kept in order, and regulated, and defined by certain laws, specific gravities, and corresponding modes, moved by the same general laws. Apparent aberrations of motion there may be, not real ones, or what we may conceive to be deficiencies in its laws, which may strike us as evils, whether they agitate physics or morals; whether in a storm, a hurricane, or an earthquake, or a revolution of government ; or the impetuous motion of an individual's breast, which may constitute a tyrant, or a conqueror, or a harlot. God having modified all beings and things, which is the declaration or manifestation of his ideas, and having put them in motion, they are agitated according to physical causes, that lie so deep in the constitution of things,

that we cannot have that patience of thought to submit to any extended analysis. We may take one or two beings, and a few contingencies, and analyze them, but no further—otherwise our finite intelligences would become infinite. Even your free-willers admit the connection between cause and effect; they admit such a determination, such a direction; such a course, for instance, that an human being may fall into: but then, they say, we have of ourselves the power to get into this direction, into such a new course. This, I say, is atheistical, for it sets God aside, and nullifies his power; it destroyeth the exact sciences, for a cardinal mathematical proposition is, that the minor is contained in the major: finite intelligence, then, is contained in infinite. How, then, can finite intelligence run contrary to infinite? Then the quantity contained is greater than the quantity containing; because we do not know God's purposes, nor understand the way in which he works the instruments that he chooses for such work; we have the folly and presumption to leave him out of the

work, and to say that we are the only workers; and that, like bungling apprentices, when we spoil the work, he now and then interposes, and sets all to rights again. God is then a looker-on, and is vexed and enraged to see his work spoiled. The first article of the religion of the church of England says, God is *without passions*. Away, then, with such blasphemy as man's free agency!

The moral and physical anatomy of a human being is a noble pursuit; but it clashes with prejudices, with fantastic notions, taught by ignorance, and adopted by folly. It is so subtle, that to follow it throughout requires extraordinary patience of thought, which is a quality mankind terms wisdom. This may appear paradoxical, but nevertheless it is not so, for there may be more skill required to dissect a fly, than to give a general idea of the universe. When I talk of dissecting a human being, I do not mean to go into the anatomy-room, with a knife in my hand, and separate the nerves, the muscles, the ligaments, the arteries, the veins, and lay bare the bones; I mean to take that general view of

him, of his form, features, passions, animation, considering his existence, his actuality, and his reproduction, as a final cause in itself; his further existence is founded on *grace* and *hope*, but not in certainty, for we have no experience of it, as no one hath ever returned to us from the dead.

We see in man an organization adequate to his being; his conformation is analogous to the existence of the passions; he is made for exertion, even for war: for Nature intends that he should face danger—such is his anatomical configuration. The final object of the woman is her reproductive faculties; all her configuration and organization tend that way. She hath the faculty from Nature to excite our tenderness, and endearment—to seek and obtain protection. Look at her frame: it is lovely—pleasurable to all our senses,—and hence supereminently valuable. Hence we strive to preserve it. Hence chivalry, courtesy. What we prize so highly, we naturally must desire to possess exclusively: hence the value and virtue of that quality of chastity; hence the general approbation of

modesty, as the safeguard of chastity. Nature aids us in these deductions, by the outward appearance of the woman ;—her long hair denotes its intention—that of the preservation of modesty by a natural covering. The facility with which a blush tinges her cheek, shows how alert all her sensations are ; how exquisite is her sense of shame ! Her facility of tears manifest her constant sympathy ; they are the petitioners for protection. Her pains in childbirth are necessary and efficient causes : first, not to be prodigal of her favors ; and secondly, to ensure the tenderest affection and care of her offspring :—for in proportion as that which we achieve or acquire is obtained with pain or difficulty, it is in proportion valued and preserved. Women, under subjection to man, are less selfish naturally, because their affections are divided ; the selfish power contained within their breasts is less concentrated. Thus the perfection of their education should consist in its simplicity. In this particular the ancient models are best ; hence the proverbial dignity of the Roman matron.

Indeed woman is curiously wrought, and

adapted to her purpose,—that purpose being her reproductive faculty. The *pure* preservation of that faculty is virtue; it is in her eminent virtue, positive virtue; just as valour is the concomitant quality in a man. The concurrence, therefore, of valour and chastity, as the fundamental virtues of the two sexes, are founded upon the eternal fitness of things essential to preserve existence, which is positive good. The alternate enjoyment and risk in her destiny; both are necessary: for in our modification we are ruled in the scales of perpetual balance; it is a fundamental law of human nature, and the result of perpetual motion, stimulation and restraint being to our knowledge those scales and that balance. But still, with all our experience, we are often left to explore in the dark in the pursuit of many of the most interesting inquiries which may excite our curiosity or engage our attention. The most dark, hidden, complex of all, is the whole system of affinities, attractions, sympathies, antipathies, and harmony; the seat of which is

in the imagination, and which, I know not why, but the more I contemplate it, the more it is figured to my mind as a most subtle atmosphere. In love and hatred, the two master-passions of the soul, the imagination is alone the channel. Let us enter into the subject in hand. Love is the strongest passion, because hatred may be sometimes considered as a deduction from it. This proposition may be obscure, but it is visible in all operations of natural movement. Thus the woman is the antithesis to the man; his purpose is to raise the storm—her functions are to allay it. Modest and disinterested by her station, she checks ambition and selfishness, and recalls us to a state of more bland harmony with the objects that surround us. What a compensation for the dire ills that enthrall us, to contemplate her mettle-stirring, soul-awakening, radiant smile; to feel the soothing balm of her endearing consolation,—which, like the oil of the good Samaritan, she pours into the crevices of our stricken and shattered bosoms, healing thus our wounded hearts.

Envious, malignant hypocrisy, avaunt! that would stand between us and her gracious office!

But love is sythetic of hate. We hate because we love; if we loved not something, we should not hate; and if we hated nothing, we should not love. Thus jealousy is hatred sprung from love; revenge from self-love. Justice is suspension between love and hatred. These are the gradations: indifference, aversion; antipathy; intense hatred. Towards love, first indifference; attraction; interest; sympathy; delight; extatic love. Love, therefore, is infused in us from the hatred of annihilation of the species; it is the necessary excitement to the reproduction of the species. Pure intelligence intends a final cause; gradations of love and hatred are the means towards the accomplishment of that cause.

Which of the two kinds of love is the strongest, that which tends to the preservation, or to the reproduction of the species? I answer, the latter; and I will prove it. First, because that which tends to the reproduction constitutes the existence of the type; that

which tends to the preservation only, to the existence of a link in the type. Nature, then, hath laid the stronger obligation, which means the stronger passion, in that species of love which excites the reproduction of the species, than in that self-love which tends to individual conservation : because we see the latter often yield to the former ; because we suppress self-love, that, is abstractedly, the love of existence for the gratification of sensual love. Sensual love is founded on sympathy : the attraction lies in the imagination. The sense lies dormant until roused, for we must admit that no substance is moved but by an external impulse. There is no love without us, as poets pretend : heroic or pure, it is all within ourselves ; it depends upon the texture of our particular organs, our state of health ; the imagination hath nothing to do with the violence of the passion, that is within ourselves. The imagination is that subtle atmosphere that hath first put us in agitation, and caused the inward tumult. The demonstrations of these propositions may be made from the difference of the character of the passions at different

periods of our existence : in youth, in manhood, in age, in dotage ; in health, in sickness, in joy or in grief. From these contingencies, from the state of our frame under these contingencies, it assumes its character. The proof of the primary motive, or what may be termed the *primum mobile* of Nature, which is the manifestation of God's ideas of creation, being the preservation of all types of existence, is the delight which in all animals, in all living creatures whatever, is annexed to their reproductive faculties. Thus we see brutes tearing each other to pieces to obtain possession of their mates ; turning from their food to pursue this great law of nature. We see that passion extinguishing often for the time the severest hunger. Among men, what will they not do to gratify that passion ? To please their mates, they sacrifice often life, fame, honour—all for the passion of love ! In women it conquers even maternal tenderness ; they fly from their offspring into the arms of their paramours. The great spring, then, of Nature, is her reproductive faculty, which ensures her *eternal existence*. The *tenacity* of

Nature is wonderful: we cannot root her out; she is stronger than all the *plagues* we have yet witnessed in our planet; and should that little planet be destroyed by the aberrations of a comet, can the universe be annihilated? would there be no seed left?

Nature hath formed the sexes with adequate sympathies, for the great attribute of Nature is adequacy. Every sense is employed in love, according to the force or energy of the sense. All the reproductive energies of Nature, by analogy, communicate, and are pleasurable. Sexual love, therefore, is in ourselves, because it is sympathetic. Parental love is a deduction: it is out of ourselves; it is an affinity, and not a sympathy; but the strongest affinity, because it hath sprung from the first of sympathies. Filial love is a more distant affinity, connected with more deductions, that is, more principles, out of ourselves, such as reverence, duty, and gratitude. Friendship is love, founded in similarity of tastes or sentiments; or from necessity, or from amusement; and comes in the fourth line.

The end and object, then, of these several

faculties of love is happiness, which meaneth a continuation of good. The interruption of these faculties is the converse, which is ill. When sensual love is intercepted, either by the intervention of a third person or from mutual disagreement, unhappiness ensueth, which is ill: consequently adultery is ill; it is contrary to law, natural and positive, and constitutes a crime. The interruption of the three other faculties of love are also unhappy, consequently ill; and the degree of the interruption constitutes crime also: from anger, malevolence, revenge, unto death. So love and hate are synthetic; one could not exist without the other. Both are contained within our faculties, and thus are finite; therefore the ill that results is finite also, which is demonstrated. Wherein, then, lies universal ill? In non-existence; then in the non-extension of existence. And as finite or relative ill is contained in finite existence, we cannot conceive it to be extended after non-existence, which would be absurd. Pure intelligence contains within it neither relative good or ill: it is the essence of motion, therefore it may

continue to exist after the non-existence of its finite visible modification. That which is in itself cannot be out of itself: that is, that which is in the sensations cannot be out of the sensations; therefore that which exists in nature cannot exist out of nature; of course ill cannot exist in pure intelligence, because it would be an impediment; then intelligence would cease to be what it is. For all ill is relative and not general, and is confined to its particular mode or substance; therefore it is not indestructible or eternal.

The corrective of ill is law. Law is instituted to correct ill. Of laws we are acquainted with three primary qualities; law natural, law civil, and law divine. Of the first I have treated already, so generally, though probably in a desultory manner, that I think it is unnecessary to touch even upon it now, seeing that every person cannot use his senses, or be awake, or move, without having ample exemplification of it. Of civil law we may say that it is a deduction from the natural law; it is those rules which certain congregated bodies of men make, in order to cor-

rect the ill that otherwise would fall upon them, from their wants, wishes, and passions clashing in a congregated state of society. It is more or less perfect, according to the state of intelligence of the society. The essence of law is its force; without force it is only opinion of ill. Thus law, to be perfect, must be armed; it must have the power to enforce its decrees. Natural law hath power, sudden and positive power. Thus, if I open a vein, and close it not, I bleed to death; if I commit excess, I shorten existence. The laws of motion, and of gravitation, of vitality, are all unerring; we ascertain them from our daily, hourly experience. Law, then, must come into contact; its influence is felt by the degree of contact it is in, both in the natural and the civil law. The law of nations is the highest branch of the civil law; it cometh into contact from the dread of reprisals, and from the necessity of more convenient communication with neighbouring states. Thus, if the essence of the law be its force, it must of necessity come into contact; and this contact is founded upon experience. We see a

man seized, put into prison, tried, and executed: thus our experience tells us that the law, armed, can come into contact.

Divine law is that which is expounded in various positive religions, and adopted into the civil law of States. It hath originally been promulgated by different prophets, who have inhabited various quarters of the globe; and who have given a ritual and a canon; that is, certain ordinances, to be observed, founded on doctrines on which they have established the particular mode of these several positive religions. The credit which these modes of worship have obtained hath been denominated by the term Faith; and the votaries of each have been termed the Faithful, in contradistinction to the votaries of other or rival religions. The general mode of these religions hath been analogous to the various forms of government which have arisen in the world, especially the monarchical form, as they have taken the monarchical form of government as the model; first, by personifying the Divine Being, then attributing to him in a high degree human qualities, and a human mode of

government. And this law has often been founded on false notions of the Divinity, and upon the absolute ignorance of second causes; it hath operated often, nevertheless, more powerfully upon mankind than the civil law. But the true mode of estimating the laws that *positively* exist, is in classing them under two heads; namely, the law natural, and the law civil; for the divine law is contained in the law natural, because the natural law is general, and is sometimes termed general law. The Divinity is not a *special existence*, but an *universal existence*, because the Divinity is not contained within the idea of space or time; therefore the law divine emanating from the Divinity is not contained within space or time; thus the divine law and the natural law are one and the same. The law civil is the effect of the operation of finite or human intelligence, and is contained both in space and time. That portion of it that relates to the Divinity should be rigidly termed the law ecclesiastical, because it is enforced by the civil law, and not by the natural law. Therefore, rigidly speaking, there exists but

two cardinal codes of laws : the laws of infinite intelligence, which are without space and time, and which are the law natural ; the second are the laws of finite intelligences, contained within space and time, and which are termed laws civil—these are axioms which cannot be overturned.

The real divine law, then, is that which accords most with our pure intelligence ; which sheds the greatest portion of happiness upon the human race, which is most in affinity to our ideas of the Divinity. But the greatest discrepancy is to be observed in this particular : that the law natural, as I have before said, comes into contact, and enforces itself ; the law civil doth the same. But the law *often called Divine*, except so far as it be the civil law of States, doth not come into contact at all, and only speculatively into contact after our dissolution, whereof we have no experience ; and when our pure intelligence only can exist, as it is contained in the infinite intelligence of God, and not our sensations, nor the evil mixed up with them, which hath depended upon the multifarious surrounding

existences of the universe, and from circumstances not within our individual controul, and which are discerpible and destructible.

The moral system of man is contained, then, in his intelligence, which is that concrescence of his sensations which gives him a consciousness of cause and effect. His experience teaches him that such causes will produce such effects, and thus he attains an unerring direction. As all existences are adequate to their respective purposes, so is the degree of movement necessarily attached to each ; thus the moral movement of man is adequate, and, therefore, his attributes are adequate to his existence.

The conviction, then, of my mind is, that there is an Intelligent essence in the universe, Infinite and finite ; that it is the stamina of all things ; and that the existence of motion, which is perpetual, is one of the most decisive proofs of its being. That the Intelligent essence works through all nature ; that its existence superinduces harmony, instead of

chaos ; that it shews itself in the various positive religions that have engaged the attention of mankind since the beginning of the world : which positive religions are a short method of acknowledging this power, which men of science trace up, through secondary causes, and all the phenomena of existence, to a first cause.

Where, then, is the true code of the Divine law to be found ? Is it in precepts, is it in opinions, or in doctrines ? These may have led to its discovery ; they may have been the outward channel that brought us to its conclusion :—but it lieth in the human breast. It hath been planted there by a superior Power ; it hath forced itself, without our capacity of resistance, into our inmost soul. It manifests itself in the inevitable acknowledgment of the power that placed it there, and in an undaunted and invincible sense of justice ; in fine, it existeth only with the elect : others are abandoned to a reprobate state of delusion. Considering individual free agency in a natural point of view, that is, man sur-

rounded by existences, and universal vitality and motion, it is contradictory and absurd—from the force of the whole being greater than the force of a part. Viewing it in a religious or theological point of view, it is a pure atheistical doctrine, as it leaves man a secondary agent, perfectly independent of God, the primary. We know, from the examination of the laws of motion, that it was not enough for God to have created the universe, and have left it there ; it requires a constant sustaining, reviving power. Now, is such an hypothesis congruous with the free agency of man ? The closest intellectual affinity between man and God lies in hope ; and it destroys hope, since it maketh the Deity an idle spectator of the operations of vitality, and man, in the universe ; the consummation of hope being through the Deity. God is here dishonoured, by being rendered unnecessary. If a man be a free agent, then the universe can go on without God ; and if it can go on without God, of what use is God ? The conclusion, then, to be drawn from the doctrine of free agency, causes them to be shocking blas-

phemers. But they cannot, who maintain this absurdity, get rid of the confessing of the foreknowledge of God ; and no casuistry can separate foreknowledge, in an omnipotent being, from permission. Even were the whole fabric of this imposition not at once destroyed, by the calculation of the laws of motion, and the self-evident proposition of causation, its blasphemy ought to drive it out of our minds, for it denies a superintending Providence, and brings us back to old chaos again.

The doctrine of *necessity*, of *predestination*, or *fatality*, then, is the *only* doctrine of a God-fearing, God-trusting, God-professing people ; every positive religion not founded on it is priestcraft.

What folly, then, in man, to repine at any loss of property ! The loss of it was without his controul, as much as his possession of it ; both lay in the eternal laws of successive causes. If he gained it, it was because he lay in that line of direction in which it was inevitable for him but to gain ; and the same of the loss—otherwise a part would be greater than the whole. Now we must feel that it is

self-evident, that whole is greater than a part; therefore if there be movement, the whole must drive on a part. Is insulated man the author, or main spring of movement? Not for an instant, even of the movement in his own breast, which is propelled by an imperative motive. Thus, when he rises to go abroad, he walks out of his door—because habit hath proved to him, *and here is an imperative motive*, that such a passage is the most easy, safe, and convenient: but if his house be on fire, then he leaps out of the window—the motive being to avoid the flames. This is the case in every act of life. Necessity, necessity, reigns through it all!

As for what is termed materialism, on the one hand, and separated essences on the other, I confess I understand them not: but if any one will talk to me of conjoined essences, I shall presently understand him. I understand essence to mean the germ of the type, the original faculty of movement with harmony and order; that principle whic

agglomerates and agglutinates into union and cohesion the various phenomena that strike our senses, and which, when so formed, are determined by new laws, springing out of new combinations. Thus the essence of man is the vital spark, which is the apparent phenomenon of the first motion of his intelligence. His genius springs out of a further combination, *viz.* his growth, force, health, and experience ; it manifests itself in his productive powers. What we see and feel, then, is the offspring of infinite combinations, governed by certain laws ; and this is an explanation of second causes. In every mode that we treat the matter, we must trace all home to a first cause. Separated essences are nothing, and no where, because they exist neither in space or time. Matter, without essence, is inert—it hath no motion. Essence seemeth as necessary to matter, as matter is to essence. The essence of man is his humanity. Humanity, without the man, would be a phantom of the brain ;—the man, without humanity, a perishing mass—unformed ; be-

cause his passions, which are again the characteristics of his humanity, stamp his countenance. Man, therefore, is the outward garment of his humanity: and the conjunction of the two constitute a rational being.

I never fell so much into philosophical disquisitions, and I have completely lost the view of my narrative; and, in fact, after such grave and interesting meditations, the pursuit of any story would be ineffectual. I filled up the space of Oliver's Protectorate in roving over Europe, particularly Spain and Italy, and I observed with satisfaction how happy mankind were by Nature in those two fine countries: and if their institutions did not aid that happiness, it was but a fair compensation for all their sensual enjoyments.

If these countries had declined in point of glory, it was owing to the direction that they had taken. Probably their mode of temporal and spiritual government had thereunto been the cause: for no particulars are contained in general, so the families concerned

cause his passions, which are again the characteristics of his humanity, stamp his countenance. Man, therefore, is the outward garment of his humanity: and the conjunction of the two constitute a rational being.

CHAP. V.

I HAVE fallen so much into philosophical dissertations, that I have completely lost the view of my narration; and, in fact, after such grave and interesting meditations, the pursuit of any story would be insipid. I filled up the space of Oliver's Protectorate in rambling over Europe, particularly Spain and Italy, and I observed with satisfaction how happy mankind were by Nature in those two fine countries; and if their institutions did not aid that happiness, it was but a fair compensation for all their sensitive enjoyments.

If these countries had declined in point of glory, it was owing to the direction that they had fallen into. Probably their mode of temporal and spiritual government had thereunto been the cause; for as particulars are contained in generals, so are families contained

in nations; for families are the epitomes of States. As, therefore, will be the direction of the family, so will be the direction of the State. If the family is educated in false metaphysics, it will give a false direction to the human mind; and I call that system of metaphysics false that is not founded on our experience, drawn from the fitness and unfitness of things. I call that system false which supposeth separated essences influencing us, incongruous with the actual state of the universe, and its demonstrated movements. I call that system false which would assert that three sides of an equilateral triangle were not equal; that it is not in the nature of water to descend, but to ascend; and that inanimate bodies do not remain immovable until driven by exterior force. I call that system false which in the action of things does not admit of cause and effect; or, admitting generally of cause and effect, does not proportion the effect to the cause, and thereby pretends a miracle, which is an accident out of nature; that is, an accident contrary to our experience, and the evidence of our

senses, and the deduction of our intelligence, and contrary to the usual mode in which God governs and harmonizes the world. I call that system false which requires more causes than necessary to produce an effect, and requires the special interposition of the Deity to regulate that which can be regulated by the ordinary workings of our pure intelligence, which he hath adapted already to that purpose. I call that scheme of metaphysics, or moral philosophy, or religion, call it what you will, false, that sets up a supposed Deity against the real one; and which is in continual contradiction with the real Deity: in whom, as St. Paul says, “*we live, we move, and we have our being* ;”—a supposed Divinity, that has mixed up abstract evil in the creation; a fond and vain supposition of indolent or artful men, who will not have patience to trace secondary causes—the only road to the knowledge of the true Deity:—for I assert that by tracing secondary causes is the only road to arrive soberly and satisfactorily to a first cause; and there we find the true, great, eternal, living God. He

holds in his hand the first link of the chain of causes ; he is energy, and reality, and actuality personified ; he is personified in our ideas, but realized in our sensations. Under such impressions, which are acquired only by His aid, we may arrive at rational conclusions, and establish a direction really beneficial to the happiness and the dignity of the human race.

Justice and self-reverence—(not charity and universal benevolence, the beggarly elements of a beggarly people,—the elements with which system-mongers entrap us in their snares—the silken web they weave us and our fortunes into ; nought so odious as the tyranny of a system, and when that system is founded on hypocrisy, on selfishness, what can be more nauseous ? Away, then, with the centralization of government ; away with the mock signs of wealth,—with societies—that pretend to aid and increase our wealth, our comfort, and our morality !) *Justice and self-reverence are the true direction in which to throw the human race ;* these were among the reflexions which passed in my breast on view-

ing the condition of those nations that had laboured under false systems of ethics, founded on supposition and not on fact.

The more I travelled the more I felt convinced that false metaphysics, and false politics, and false law,—all allied, and all working by the same means to the same ends—have always generated mock philanthropists, improvers of the civil law, destroyers of political liberty. Many of these in every nation,—insolent, factious, lying, cheating, perjured, perverted law-meddlers; these saucy knaves, as malignant and dangerous vermin as ever have infested the face of the earth—who, base, selfish, cowardly and cruel, have fattened upon the spoils of mankind, and have rioted in plenty from the ignorance, the folly, and the brutish stupidity of the human race—which race are but too much inclined to become gregarious; each willing to shift the load, whether of thinking or of acting, upon his neighbour's shoulder. Look at a flock of sheep—there is the exemplification of the philanthropic system: look at the dog that

tugs them by the ear—see how they circle, and cower—they pant and bleat, and hold down their heads;—the shepherd feels for the fattest, which he hands over to the shambles. But the stag will not let himself be so handled; unsocial and aloof, in the deep forest, or in the wild waste, his quick sensations require not the aid of the watch-dog to give the alarm, who thereby became the sheep's master; you must bring down his stately antlers by a cautious shot, or pursue him with the well-trained pack. Man! man! see yourself in these examples. Extend not your families beyond blood—a thousand times I will repeat it;—in the one case, you are as the sheep—in the other, as the stag. Join with your fellows, but occasionally only, when the hurricane of the passions drives you. Legislators, fly from the multiplying of laws: they are the offspring of vanity, of little, meddling tyranny.

This Chinese method of over-governing, and this pretended love of the human race, springs entirely from vanity. These mock-

philanthropists have such an enlarged breast, that they scorn to individualize mankind—they love him too much in the mass, to love him particularly; hence their affections are like a circle in the water, which grows so extended, that it ceases to be a circle at all. The great compensation that really humane men feel, in dire convulsions of government, and sanguinary revolution, is that these base pretenders are generally engulfed first; it is a satisfaction, nay, it is a *crowning mercy*, when such mischievous reptiles are *hunted* down and exterminated by a *cajoled, abused, and cheated people*, who have been their *chartered dupes*.

But the true philosophical knowledge of human nature proves to us this axiom: man in general is the channel for the operation of great principles; man in particular is embraced by the natural affections. Thus God loves mankind, intellectually; that is, generally, he loves the type of the human race. Man loves his fellow individually; that is, with the love which the natural affections inspire. But your system-mongers are al-

ways blasphemously thrusting themselves into God's place, to do His work ; to save souls, and love all mankind alike, as I said before, peeping at the Divinity through a microscope.

I have early, in tracing my notions upon government, insisted more upon political than civil liberty. Let me disjoin these principles. Political liberty is the unfettered play of pure intelligence ; civil liberty degenerates into social licentiousness, and is compatible with despotism. What are the modes I have insisted upon throughout to perfect justice ? Severe systems of education ; the patriarchal family government ; simple doctrines of religion ; the unfettered sway of public opinion, by writing and speaking. *That simple doctrine of religion is the confusion of universal power, diverging from a common centre.* Why should I narrow the admission and worship of that power into a positive system ? Why should I become the violent partizan of one system in opposition to that of another ? Why inculcate such a *mischievous* absurdity—so hurtful to social existence—so unphilosophical ? But these sys-

tems clashing, against each other, are all working to their several destruction—and upon their ruins will arise another temple, whose awful dome will reach to the vaulted arch of heaven—containing within its ample area the whole of the human race :—for the grandest temple of the Divinity is the expanse of infinitude.

It appeareth to me that mankind in the rudest state hath ever concluded a first cause: because it is the first conclusion of rational beings, that, in proportion as they used their experience to observe the movements of nature, and have expanded their own intelligence, they began to discover secondary causes; and then divine mysteries and miracles began to lose their credit. What is the abstract of an enlightened man? He who understandeth second causes. But understand them we do not—we guess at some, trace others, and reason analogically and experimentally upon more. But it belongs not to us to be categorical, excepting in those things that our experience hath rigorously demonstrated; that is to say, objectively, and not subjectively, because

when we reason subjectively, our imagination may take a part; and one link broken, or imperfect in the chain of deductions, annihilates a rigorous demonstration. So far I may reason subjectively; I may hold, for instance, that there have been certain eternal truths, that no sophistry can beguile—that “justice is the suspension between love and hate;” that “hatred deserves punishment, and love reward.” I here use these terms in their most rigid signification, without analyzing love into charity and benevolence, and hate into murder or tyranny. Thus, in a dark age a good man, reasoning after this manner, justly passes for a *prophet*; who is inspired immediately by a first cause, because his hearers do not understand second causes. Well, then, a *prophet* is he who hath had a quicker insight into second causes than other men—who sees their drift, and who ventures to reason subjectively—which he manages with skill and care. But all subjective reasoning flows from objective, because I hold that our demonstrations are *à posteriori*, and not *à priori*; that there is no intimate per-

suasion independent of experience ; and that, in the common acceptation of the word, if any one be wise without experience, it is owing to the conformation of his particular organs—to less irritability—to more clearness of perception, or distinctness of reason : that is, his experience is shorter ; therefore polytheism, in their barbarous condition, forms the religion of mankind. When they have discovered the force and train of second causes, they arrive at Monotheism. I am well aware that Monotheism hath been confounded with Pantheism ; but I should say that, here, arguing subjectively is of use ; that is, considering this matter objectively, we conclude Pantheism ; considering it subjectively, we conclude Monotheism. It is a great stretch of the patience of thought to come to the conclusion of a subjective Monotheism from an analysis of an objective Pantheism. To conclude the indivisibility of infinite intelligence from the apparent divisibility of the phenomenon of finite intelligence—whether the total of finite objective intelligence doth not constitute subjective infinite

intelligence, or whether finite intelligence be only the mode of appearances, or infinite intelligence an essence superior to such mode,—this demonstration we cannot reach ; for, analytically, we cannot comprehend power without contact ; and infinite subjective intelligence seemeth to our perception to be power without contact. The human understanding, fatigued with the subtlety of the distinction, cometh to the conclusion of the existence of the essence of infinite intelligence, which is subjective Monotheism. Hence is derived every system of religion. Pantheism is a deduction *à posteriori* ; Monotheism is a conviction *à priori*, from the observation of universal harmony co-operating with universal power.

But this is an extreme abstruse mode of considering the subject, and by no means plain to those who have not been exercised in matters of philosophy. The concrescence of our sensations is the mode and channel of our intelligence ; and our intelligence is capable of making deductions, which is then reasoning subjectively—though the foundation of all this reason may be traced objectively.

But upon one subject we must confess our ignorance, possibly the most desirable of all, because it lies in the faculty of hope—and that is the doctrine of affinities, and sympathies, and attractions. To know these things would be to understand the doctrine of perpetual motion, of probabilities, possibilities—in fact, it would unlock the most hidden secrets of our nature, and draw up the curtain before our eyes, and discover to us our future acts. And I confess I am strangely perplexed with this whole doctrine of attraction and affinities, for which I cannot always trace sufficient causes;—whether the inclination is within me or without me, and where the cords are tied that draw us into various relations with beings or things. Here, objectively, I am aware that there are such aids, because I see such affinities, and such attractions; but I confess, philosophically speaking, I see not the way of it. *And in this arises our error of conceiving the reality of free agency, when there is, in fact, but the appearance.*—Hence I leave the subject.

It requires a most minute examination to

go through the system of affinities and attractions, which connect the intricate scheme of human life. Here, then, we should find, as I have before said, the keys to fortune; and the more we consider the subject, the wiser we become, because the more intimately we get acquainted with the reality of things. We then enter into the theory of probabilities, and a knowledge of possible quantities brings us more into contact with probable quantities. Certainly, then, the sum of our happiness is increased, because our knowledge becomes more extended and accurate. We then discover that chance doth not exist, because there is no effect without a cause—and this constitutes the scheme of philosophical necessity.

Here again we fall into the doctrine of compensations, which may be traced in various instances; and, reasoning subjectively, we may say, that if necessity exists, and abstract justice exists, then compensations must exist, because compensations are a consequence of justice. Here our ignorance, again, of the whole train of second causes appears,

and we may not know or feel a compensation, but still it may be a compensation:—for a man may receive a benefit without being conscious of it; he may have not had occasion to form a comparison, for it is by comparisons that we discover benefits; and the instant that we cannot categorically lay down what is an advantage and what a disadvantage, we have no other alternative than to conclude that *whatever is, is right*.

Here, then, is the scale: objective Pantheism strikes and convinces our senses; subjective Monotheism is deduced by our reason; philosophical necessity follows; compensations are a consequence. Immortality is a deduction from compensations, aided by the conviction of the indiscerptibility of pure intelligence; and that essences finite are contained in essences infinite; that the objective is a demonstration, that the subjective is a conclusion.

Those who have contended for the mortality of the soul have not had a clear notion of that substance. They have conceived it to be in the sensations: whereas I contend that it

lieth in the concrescence of the sensations ; that is, that the sensations are the conductors to that faculty of pure intelligence, and which I consider as one and the same thing with the soul ; that is, our faculty of distinguishing great and eternal truths, and to which faculty there can be attached none of that quality which we commonly term good and evil, because good or evil must relate to our social movement, to our clashing with other beings in the ordinary pursuit of life. Good and evil spring from the passions, which have nothing in common with the soul or pure intelligence, excepting that the latter hath a power of recognition of the former. It is, then, the doctrine that the soul is capable of good and evil, that hath caused so many to deny its immortality, because they could not conceive how finite modes, which good and evil are, could become infinite ; such as pure, indiscerptible intelligence. And because good and evil are finite, they are geographical ; they are differently estimated, among various people and various polities. What I have strove to prove is, that pure intelligence ex-

ists: hence our faculty of coming to a rigid demonstration. But that hath nothing in common with the play of our passions: on the contrary, it is decidedly opposite to those passions. If, then, we should take the trouble of thinking, and separate the faculty of pure intelligence from the passions, we may easily come to the conviction of its immortality. The doctrine of future rewards and punishments I take to have lain under a similar misconception; for I hold that doctrine to have been rather a *moral doctrine* than an absolute theological dogma; or rather that it hath been a *moral doctrine positively*, and a *theological doctrine allegorically*: for we can hardly punish or reward pure intelligence, it being susceptible of no affections; and we can hardly make that immortal which is made of various parts, all liable to be divided and separated; which are the seats of our sensations, in fact the seats of our good and evil faculties; therefore, to my perception of general ideas, are pure, single, indiscerptible essences, incapable of good and evil, and consequently immortal. Our sensations are the

channels of our passions, which are the keys of our frame, on which external movement plays. They are made up of various parts, all liable to destruction, consequently they are mortal. Hope being the highest recognition of pure intelligence, is the earnest of its immortality.

But to this it is replied, we have the testimony of facts which overthrow your theory; accredited facts of the setting aside the ordinary operations of nature; of the laws of gravity; of the actual state, form, and condition of things. This, then, is as much as to say that no fraud or imposture was ever committed on mankind; and that man, not satisfied with all the power that temporal law has given him over his fellows, insists upon bewildering their reason by pretended authority, drawn from without the limits of nature; the submission to which he maintains by the correctional power of the civil magistrate. Surely this is to make religion do homage to the powers on earth, and not the powers in heaven. If the civil magistrate is to become a part of the priesthood, if the craft of the

one is to be supported by the power of the other, they drive together pure intelligence fairly out of religion ; and they convert that which was supposed to belong to the individual condition of man into an engine of state and political power. But in this is the great discrepancy to be observed, namely, that the Judge, whilst sitting on the bench, examines most minutely every particle of evidence : he lets nothing escape him wherein he perceiveth the slightest flaw, and he dismisses the extravagant conceits of witnesses with contempt. The Priest takes the converse rule : the more mystery the greater the authority ; he may be a professor of the exact science six days in the week ; he holds one language in his lecture-room, the remaining day he reverses this mode, and holds an opposite language. We dissent from the one day's lecture, and adopt the six days' *demonstration* :—we are handed over to the Judge, condemned and executed ; in some countries put to the most horrid tortures that the human heart can conceive—or rather cannot conceive. And yet we must not investigate these inconsistencies ; and

we are perpetually hearing of the enlightened age, the liberal age, the age of learning ! Our rulers establish royal academies of arts and sciences, and insist upon our using *this method of analysis* ;—we do so, and it leads us into a dungeon !!

Such a catastrophe falls upon individuals, and such injustice is perpetrated in states. In fine, such scandal has tainted every age from the mode of the confession and worship of the Deity not keeping pace with the analytical development of the exact sciences, and the general laws and appearances of Nature. Should such a postulate be granted, namely, that they ought to keep pace with each other, the proposition then would be true, that religion in the abstract is a science parallel to our state of intelligence. But since the time of Constantine it hath been specially considered and modelled as a state engine ; and as the basis of all temporal authority, I prefer placing that basis under the paternal roof, and leaving religion as a sublime conclusion, susceptible of developments as various as those of the exact sciences, as in fact it is the sum and conclusion of them all.

I confess I know not of *two rules of evidence*, whether it be oral or traditional. My first guide must be the evidence of my own senses. The rules of evidence first appear to me to be the experience I derive from the full and free use and enjoyment of my own senses ; secondly, the credit due to the testimony, whether it be oral or traditional ; if the latter, what interpretations it might or might not have been subject to ; and lastly, the positive harmony and moral agreement in the whole circumstance. Any deficiency here would be fatal to its validity. This conclusion appears to my mind simple and rational, whether it be applied to any part of sacred or profane history ; whether it affects the traditional confession and worship of the Deity in the East or in the West, in the North or in the South. And here—with great deference, for I am aware that I am touching upon delicate ground, —I must beg leave to observe, that all *miracles*, or other *extraordinary* appearances, that have been insisted upon as the test of the verity of any particular mode

of worship, *stand precisely upon the same basis of credibility* ; because, if the preliminary evidences of the senses be rejected, and the authority of downright testimony alone admitted, where is our *faith* to stop ? The miracles of each and every mode of worship that have ever been insisted upon then are all and each of them equally *substantiated*. Once admit the premises, that the evidence of the senses, or the deduction of reason, are not necessary to establish an appearance out of nature, and contrary to its recognized laws, and then oral or traditional testimony is to be taken for what it is individually worth, which must be estimated variously, according to the various judgments to which it is submitted.

Hence it appeareth to me that those zealots, who strive to prove so much, in the end defeat their own object ; for they may set up novel miracles and novel modes of faith, upon the very same ground upon which they would fain establish their favourite scheme.

I should define the soul to be a simple and infinite substance ; infinite because it concludes infinity, and because properties are analogous

to modes ; a substance so subtle as to be invisible, but still a substance : because, if it be not substance, it is nothing. And are we not surrounded with invisible substances ? The air is an elastic, invisible fluid, which, notwithstanding, hath substance, because it hath weight. Spirit is a thin, invisible body : but body it must be, or nothing ; and that sort of body, like some kind of water, that will change other bodies grosser than itself, when it comes into contact with it, or is mixed with it. Hence life, heat, thought, intelligence, all being motion. That it is not a property of our frame is clear, because thought, to our perception, is one and indivisible ; whereas our frame is divisible into several parts. And in which of those parts should we place *thought* ? But as it must be either substance or nothing, and as we feel it to exist, it must be substance ; as it is one and indivisible, therefore, it must be a substance, concluded but not perceived.

The belief in its immortality is suggested to us by the faculty of hope, founded on arguments of justice. It is a very refined deduc-

tion of our reasoning faculties, and so generally adopted, that it seemeth almost an in-born sentiment; of death our experience gives the certainty, but nothing beyond it. From the doctrine of the immortality of the soul hath arisen the supposition of ghosts and spirits, which illusion is the result of a violent nervous affection of habit, excited by surrounding scenes. Superstitious people meet ghosts in church-yards and lonesome places, but they never appear in ball-rooms or in merry crowds.

Indeed, I have often thought that life was the visible demonstration of the soul, and that Heraclitus' doctrine of fire seemeth to be the most rational: that is, that fire, which is the very essence of motion, is the original fundamental of all things. Thus life is fire; it is the soul; it appeareth to wrap round the discerptible atoms of which the frame is composed, and puts into activity all our organs, which are fitted to various uses, but require this heat to put them in motion. When any of these organs are deranged, or destroyed, or worn out, then this fire no longer adheres

to them ; and having left them, the frame grows cold, and dissolves. Thus a comet may be an incipient planet ; it might have began by a flame, which acquired swiftness as it conglomerated other fiery particles to it ; then it might have obtained certain portions of the laws of motion ; additional motion could have given it rotundity, condensation ; the principle of fire remained in it, and changing its aspect, and then becoming a principle of vitality, Nature budding and expanding herself by degrees. If, then, this principle of heat is so formed as to be indiscerptible to our perceptions, containing within itself the abstract principle of intelligence, which puts in motion the sensitive organs of the human frame, it cannot then be destroyed by the accident of the dissolution of that frame, since the one is but as the mill, the other the power that moves it. This principle may, then, animate other and more refined organs, and pass through as many processes as we see some insects in nature ; and thus a general analogy to nature and harmony is preserved. A visible ray of light is eight minutes coming from the sun's

disk to the earth ; that refined heat which animates a human being, and which is invisible by the same analogy may travel with accelerated velocity ; and probably that which we term dissolution may only relate to our sensitive organs, and it may require that the abstract power of intelligence must, according to the rules of analogy, adhere to other organs, before it can be percipient. Hence our ignorance of death. Our sensations exhibit to us space and duration, and we discover in these various tangible and visible substances ; our reason concludes these to be effects, and we are constrained to admit a self-existing, primary substance, else why space, duration, and substances ? Consequently we conclude the three latter elements to be mere modes or properties. As our substance is only percipient of its mode, so from analogy we conclude all intelligent substances to be percipient of their modes ; more refined substances percipient of their modes and of lower properties, and so on. The self-existing, primary substance must, therefore, be percipient of all other modes and sub-

stances, and accordingly commensurate to them, therefore infinite ; if infinite in space, which is the property of substance, infinite in duration, and infinite in motion : which is also a mode. Necessarily, then, that which is discernible is capable of change, but that which is indiscernible capable of reproduction : for if space be only a mode of substance, there can be no diminution, consequently only reproduction or change, which is a subordinate quality of duration : therefore one self-existent being, one universe, one space, and one duration ; which are properties of that self-existing being, and are not elements in themselves. Our soul or mind is said to be one and indivisible : that is, to our perceptions contradistinguished to our frame, which is divisible. And here our ignorance compels us to stop ; we cannot reason positively, but hypothetically, for in this case the wide field of identity, diversity, antipathy, sympathy, attraction, repulsion, all present themselves. National and family characteristics : all these render any positive reasoning about the soul obscure and inconclusive ;

how, when, where, and in what manner it is generated, whether it hath a pre-existence, and adheres to certain particles of matter when the embryo of the human frame is generated, or whether it is not the stamina itself, to which other particles adhere, which it binds together, and then influences. This latter opinion I am inclined to, considering the affinity of heat and motion. The inclination of my mind is, that a species of substance, composed of them, is the principle of the soul, having the faculty through the organ of the body of reproduction. But this faculty depends upon these organs, as well as its other faculties, else how do we account for idiotcy and madness? With regard to dreams, they are merely the distorted impressions of antecedent ideas; they are within ourselves; that is, they arise from the play of the sensations—no inference can therefore be drawn from them.

CHAP. VI.

At length comes the famous Restoration of King Charles the Second. The merry festival of the 29th of May, decorated with crowns of our English oak with their golden acorns. The white cliffs of our shores tremble under the roar of the cannon : the waves groan under their superb freight. The sportive dolphins spout around the lofty prows of the *Monarch of the Ocean*. *That ocean conquered by Blake*—the intrepid, the virtuous, the patriot Blake ;—Blake, who like the eagle of Jove, carried ever in his dreaded talons the thunderbolts of England. But Blake was no more—the fruits of his conquests passed into other hands ; his glory was to illumine the new era, whilst his hallowed dust was impiously scattered in the air.

But joyous Hope decked herself out in her gaudiest colours ; she fascinated the reason of all. None were exempt from her wonder-working influence. We all forgot the distinction between a *King restored*, and a *King elected*. We forgot that a King restored, conceives that he owes all to himself ; that a King elected, feels that he owes all to his people. Nay more, the first thinks that a long arrear is due to him, which if he cannot obtain by force, he will by fraud. The latter, being as it were on trial, knows that by time and care alone he can ensure his power. The churlish usurper had kept us at a distance ; he founded his title upon his sword ; upon the vigorous and successful use of it, against our foreign foes—which never fails to create enthusiasm among the mass of mankind. Stern and unyielding, he kept the people of England in that direction which would have accelerated the consummation of their great destinies, had he lived some years longer. They might have fallen instantly into the most glorious and permanent state of freedom. But fair Freedom's hour was not yet come ;

she had not yet gone through her trial ; she had resisted happily the iron hand of military power ; she was to escape from the more hidden, but certain danger of a splendid court, that was to corrupt the Parliament, and to deceive one-half the nation. The facility with which the King accepted the articles, his famous declaration from Breda, ought to have made us more cautious in trusting his word, because this leads us now to examine more minutely into the political character of Kings. A restored King must always be imbued with the feelings of his divine right ; else, why restore him ? A King elected, or called to govern a nation, comes professedly to fill the office of King ; that is, to be the first hereditary magistrate in the kingdom ; to be executor of the laws. He hath no title but to maintain a special purpose—a certain code of laws ; or to rule in a certain prescribed mode. But if a revolution has taken place, and a King is restored, it is *on his own account*, rather than on account of the public interests ; it is because his party have gained the ascendancy. They may pretend what they

choose, to keep the rest tranquil, and talk perpetually of his gracious intentions towards the good of the nation—no one will believe them, because such a King must be restored on his own account, and on account of the general scope of policy that he might have been connected with, rather than for the obvious use, office, and intent of a King : namely, to have an hereditary first magistrate, who shall consolidate the commonwealth. He may pretend to make all the concessions that he thinks fit—he may be perpetually bestowing fine words and phrases upon all who choose to have the folly to have themselves sprinkled with this holy water of the court ; his secret wish will ever be to undermine the public liberty, because public liberty is inconsistent with arbitrary power ; and arbitrary power is the mantle in which a *pretended* king is ever enrobed. The crown ever sits uneasy on his head, who holdeth it in trust ; if power by the sword, or by the law he cannot obtain, he will obtain it by influence ; which is no other than laying hold of men's base and corrupt passions. To one he gives a ribbon, or some

title or decoration ; to another he holds out a military command, or a government ; to others the plunder of the public purse, under different disguises. Thus this influence is not used for the general good, because these distinctions seldom fall upon the ablest or the best men in the state, but upon the meanest, the most prostitute—those who will aid the grand plan most at heart, the enslaving the nation.

But our glorious Charles, whom we restored with friendly, outstretched arms, made no stipulation for his *particular friends*—those who had suffered in his cause. Surely this was an earnest of his good and gracious intentions towards the nation at large. Was it so ? I cry you mercy ! What ! his individual treachery and ingratitude, then, was the earnest of his general affection—his violation of one of the first of the social virtues, namely, *gratitude*, is to be taken as proof of his good faith and patriotism ?—What doth this prove ? That a *pretended* King hath essential interests, at variance with the interests of the people ; that these interests are irreconcilable, and that the interests of no King, or line of Kings,

are reconcilable with the interests of the people, who do not owe their elevation to that station *to the will of the people* ; and who do not conceive that they remain there under the perpetual influence of the original choice or election. But this notion of choice in it destroyeth the glorious mystery of the kingly power ; mysteryarchs sigh in vain for closer connexion between an earthly crown and an eternal crown of glory ; our eyes are less dazzled with the effulgence of its rays ; we more soberly contemplate its earthly office ; we presume to question motives—we inquire whether the devoted clusters of courtiers that cling around it, that pay sickening adoration to it, are single-hearted—whether they have no alloy mixed up with their ardent orisons !

The rights of *pretended legitimacy* confer upon us the duty of servitude : that is, *pretended* legitimacy restored as such ; kings by the grace of God, and not by the will of the people. Indeed it was a sickening sight to see the mad race that all men ran to gain the glorious prize of court favour. Such as Cornelius Tacitus hath shrewdly observed of the Roman people,

in the time of Augustus, “all striving who should be the most willing slave!”

But one capital distinction between a restored, *pretended legitimate* King and an elected one is, that the former brings with him a *fruitful colony* who stir up the worst and most angry passions. They let loose those who had been most inimical to the former government, and, indeed, the whole direction into which the people had been thrown; breathing vengeance and retaliation, and striving to inflict punishment upon a whole nation, because they had thrown off an intolerable tyranny, and had by dint of the sacrifice of their best blood ameliorated their condition. A more dire misfortune cannot fall upon a nation, than to be thus delivered up, bound hand and foot, to its most malignant enemies; for where can more desperate foes be found than those who, to serve their base, selfish ends, have carried arms against the liberties of their country, and then fled from it—mixing in the warlike ranks of foreigners, and waiting for the propitious moment to glut their insatia-

ble appetite for plunder—for that had ever been their main design!

The great object to be desired and achieved is, to obtain a government that is in harmony with the sentiments and interests of the nation; this is the primary proposition in all policy. Inasmuch as harmony is the manifestation of the highest perfection of infinite power in the law of nature, so it is an high effort of pure intelligence in all our relations of social life; for what can be more delightful, than its full operation, in our own *conduct*—in our commerce with our relatives or friends, and our neighbours? What more odious and disgusting, than to feel the want of it in our political government with reference to ourselves? Your insolent tyrants, and their corrupt satellites, cry out, “what have the people at large in common with the detail of the administration of government?” Aye, in truth, they laugh at all men as their dupes—jumble them all pell-mell together; confuse their property, their rights; mix the various bodies, politic or corporative; knead them like

dough ; with their poisonous influence they destroy the original freshness and elasticity of all institutions—bring want, misery, embarrassment into the bosom of every family ; by a combination of a thousand pretexts and harsh regulations entwine man's existence into their odious system ; then they say, “ what have you to do with the administration of government ? leave that to us ! ” But we exclaim, “ Unravel your system—lead us out of the web which your ingenuity hath woven ; restore to the great bodies in the state their elasticity, their original vigour ; leave families to family government, and sweat them down no longer under parish regulations, and then we shall consent to leave government to the full play of its own impulse ; then the glorious, the edifying scene will be presented to the astonished eyes of the world, of a government in harmony with the feelings of the people ! Rare spectacle, indeed ! and the more sublime, because it is so rare. A government marching on through the progress of time with equal steps with the expansion

of pure intelligence, leaving behind it selfishness, personified in Corruption : that harlot with a hundred hands, that meets us at every turn, and drags us within her baleful sphere. Corruption ! all-powerful and dight in splendid, glittering trinkets, that fascinate Folly's eye, and bedecks alike the stupid rustic, or the gay, courtly villain with her rueful trappings ! Corruption, alike devouring the productive industry of active labour, and the solitary mite of the widow and orphan ! Corruption ! who, in a murky night, stretches out her coaxing palm to every passing stranger ; and by day, Proteus-like, assumeth every air : who knoweth well the intricate passages from the closet of kings to the senate. Not a turn in any corporate body that she hath not glided through a thousand times. Ghost-like, she stalketh through the aisles of churches ;—moreover she hath been seen to flit as a fairy behind the judgment-seat. The decent matron even is not callous to her blandishments : witness the frequent sacrifice of the pretended daughter of her heart. More

brilliant than the western star, corruption beams above the horizon, for she hath quenched even the blood-stirring charms of Venus."

To the keen-sighted the Restoration gave no consolation. They viewed in the characters of the two brothers, Charles and James, presages of bad augury. The King, more clear-sighted, more insinuating than his brother, had decidedly a better judgment. But what he gained in abilities he lost on the score of sincerity and dignity; he was indolent, selfish, and rapacious; he sought for arbitrary power, because it was more conducive to his indolence, and afforded larger opportunities of gratifying his rapacity. His affections went not beyond himself; his enjoyment was contained within a small compass. England and its glory were foreign to his contracted heart, which panted only after sensual enjoyments and frivolous amusements. Though he was dead to all sentiments of gratitude, he was alive to resentments; to sate his vengeance, and banish his fears, he was cruel and unrelenting. But his main characteristic was his entire faithless-

ness: few tyrants have exceeded him in this particular; and his duplicity was so refined, that it belonged possibly to a higher order of talents than those which he possessed: for, though inferior to the Roman Emperor Tiberius in the scope of his genius, he equalled him in this respect, as much as he resembled him in his love of pleasure. No intimacy of friendship, no length or fidelity of service, no apparent community of sentiments, were guarantee for an instant of Charles's constancy. The base minion of yesterday supplanted with incredible facility the tried friend of years; and it was observed of him, as of most tyrants, to have rendered him a service was the surest road to destruction; particularly if that service had at all borne upon or assisted the national welfare. His avowed maxim was such as a shameless thief, or an abandoned prostitute would blush to avow—for he maintained that all mankind were governed but by their selfish interests; and none approached him but to serve their vilest purposes. His heart, imbruted with this feeling, was capable of betraying the very ef-

frontery of despotism ; but the schemes which that corrupt heart suggested, his enervated hand refused to execute. He dared not mount on horseback, and strive to ride down his people in the field, after the manner of his more sullen father : but, coward-like, he sneaked under the wing of the French king, then arch despot of Europe ; he claimed his countenance, and took his bribes ; and Lewis's schemes of aggrandizement and universal empire, were alone checked and in jeopardy from a conviction of the inbred fickleness and faithlessness of his servant and ally, Charles. He dealt with his own subjects after the same manner : mock treasons, sham plots, and counterplots the most diabolical, agitated his whole reign. The royal ermine was steeped in the blood of legalized murders.

But the public mind was not altogether debased by humiliation ; nor had servitude yet fitted on her chains so adroitly that they were worn with some degree of ease. Notwithstanding the villainy of the Pension Parliament, there were yet some fearless and honest men, who stood up in that assembly, though, indeed,

corruption had cut them off from all efficacy, except that of being the watch-dogs of the nation, and sounding the alarm to the people—not then to act, but to be upon their guard.

The King had occasionally those qualms of conscience which are ever the characteristics of an union of guilt and feebleness. He had no fixed principles; upon the most important of them all, religion, he was agitated between hope and fear. Often he flew from the arms of his mistresses into those of the church—any church—no matter what; that which throws most readily a cloak over our past life; that smothers our sins, and that gives us most lavishly a perspective of joys everlasting.

Such was the second Charles. An antithesis to his father, *he* was encompassed in the circle of all the thoughtless, shameless vices that scandalize a throne; *his father* was enveloped in the more dark and hidden crimes which enslave a nation—hypocrisy, treachery, and oppression; both father and son striving to attain the worst ends by different means. The one the gay, the debonair; the other the solemn and a

sanctimonious hypocrite; both uncongenial to the soil they dwelt on—both hostile to the true interests of the people over whom they reigned.

The augury of James's destiny was as little favourable. More decorous than his brother, more social than his father, his main characteristic was wilful, petulant obstinacy, founded upon an obscured, narrowed, and scanty intellect and a bigoted heart, in which the form of religion was more prized than the practice of morality.

Our divination, indeed, was guided from the conclusion of his character being more inflexible than his brother's, and that he possessed a less acute intellect: that he was more steady in his attachments, and more to be dreaded in his resentments; more in the habit of actual command, more attached to the detail of government, and more fixed upon the subject of religion. The King's facility of disposition coming into contact with the irritated temper of the people, was ever compelled to yield; his acts of oppression were insulated, and his tyranny displayed itself by sudden starts. James was more capable of a

fixed plan, whilst the shallowness of his mind made him more insensible to the danger which attended its prosecution ; and we concluded that the ruin that Charles was preparing, James would consummate.

These primary elements of convulsion were notably abetted by the famous Pension Parliament : a body who, by cajolery and bribery having obtained their seats, were repaid most amply by the Court. This body aided the scheme of arbitrary power most effectually by their mere existence, independent of their ready and venal votes : because, under the cover of their wing, the Court could accelerate the consummation of arbitrary power, with a rapidity that would have been impossible had no such body existed : for the existence of the Parliament furnished a plausible excuse to the pretended admirers of the constitution, whilst it blinded the eyes of the more ignorant, who perceived not that it was become a mere stalking horse to cover the designs of tyranny. There has existed in every age, and in every country, conscientious men, who have preferred the government

of a *single person* ; such as were many of our old cavaliers. These men we may pity for their weakness, and blame for their servility :— but still they enter into no engagements with the people ; they are the betrayers of no trust ; at all events, they are not hypocrites, they appear on the side of absolute government boldly in the field, and pledge their lives in the support of their principles. But what must mankind think of the base wretches, who, pretending to admire and uphold a popular form of government, wriggle themselves into that government, only to betray and overthrow it ? What execrations do not such traitors deserve, who make themselves in the first place masters of the people's affections, by offering to become their faithful stewards, only to get possession of the *people's purse* ? Inasmuch as a swindler is more despicable than a highway robber, so these vermin excite our anger more than the bold, open abettor of tyranny. The one takes a shorter road to plunder than the other ; and he has the courage to risk his life in the criminal enterprize ; whilst the other crawls

into your house, kissing your feet; he is entertained at your hospitable board; he swindles you of the last farthing that you possess, and in that hour compels you to mortgage your estate under various pretences. If you attempt to sound an alarm, and call out for help, he calls in his myrmidons; you are gagged and imprisoned in your own house, and sometimes hanged upon the tree that shades your garden, where you repose in a sunny afternoon.

These were the reflexions that ever were uppermost in my mind upon Charles's famous Pension Parliament; in that famous plot-discovering age, in that age in which two true-hearted Englishmen sealed their immortal virtues by their blood. The glorious names of Sidney and Russel will warm the chilled blood of our posterity, who may chance to fall under such dire predicaments, more than the sound of the names of all the haughty conquerors, who may have waded to their oftentimes criminal eminence through abundant purple tides. If the old Roman exclaimed, "that it was sweet to die for our

country," the bitterness of the cup of affliction which that country drinks, makes the eternal draught, which our glorious self-sacrifice dooms us to, doubly sweet. It is sweet to reflect that our mangled limbs shall, even in rotting, testify against the unrighteous oppressor; that our countenances more stern in stark death, shall frown from our dissevered and exposed heads, upon the base minions who, in aid of tyranny, have accelerated our doom. Yet we have a compensation: I return to my doctrine—"the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church!"

That untamed independence of soul, that wildness, and even ferocity of liberty in which I had been bred, could ill brook the shackles imposed upon us by the apostles of the cankering corruption which now circumvented almost every political institution of England.

The adulterous and foul intercourse between the representatives of the people and the minions of power, scandalized and sickened every upright heart. It did not consist with the ruggedness of my temper to mingle

in such abominations ; nay, I could hardly endure to converse with those who supported the reeling fabric which their monstrous passions had upreared, with patience, or even with decency. Indignantly rejecting the blandishments of favor which vanity and rapacity kissed the feet of power to obtain, I turned my back upon that perverse, mischievous, and malignant generation of vipers, who had stung the nation while coiled in her bosom, until their venom had bloated her into boils and tumours,—until she was bleached and blotched all over with the very leprosy of corruption.

In this did I behold a marvellous dispensation of Providence,—to whip us up from our traitorous slumberings, and hold out to us *public virtue*, as a prize the most desirable : but which we had forfeited from our great unworthiness. With longing eyes and outstretched arms, we saw only the vision of Liberty, seated upon the pinnacle of a lofty and rugged rock,—to which, indeed, led many a steep and difficult path, imperious to cowardly hearts and slothful steps.

Her downcast eye and drooping head sank upon her open and expansive bosom, and seemed to chide the tardiness of her pretended votaries. When she gazed around, and beheld on every side dungeons, and scaffolds, and gibbets, she flinched and shivered; but when she saw the gay harlot Corruption, disguised in her wonted attire, flaunting through her sanctuaries below, palming the grey beard of the senator,—coaxing up and inflaming the dying embers of his lecherous and palled appetite,—leering at the judgment-seat, and turning the hero's sword against his brother, she screamed and fainted.

Liberty, rich in the exuberance of her maternity, suckles every virtue. The full tides of the milk of real humanity flow from her overcharged and plenteous breasts; the painted, withered strumpet Corruption, dried up, exhausted, and sapless, can only instil into the social fabric the slow poison of destruction; rotting and corroding its bones, its fibres; tainting its blood; down it falls at last, and crumbles into a pestiferous mass.

Close upon the steps of Corruption followed a demon in a long black robe ; in every tie of his perriwig hissed a snake ; his pale, care-worn visage marked him as the channel of the rapid and ceaseless rushing of the worst passions. In his hand he carried a blue bag, containing matter of frightful combustion, ruin, and desolation. Ever and anon Corruption whispered in his ear, to prompt his loud voice, and flush his brazen front. Then he fiercely grasped Consistency, and squeezed the bantling in its birth. Reason he marred at every turn ; science he astounded ; even our vision he bewildered, for he strived to disprove the evidence of the senses. His scared audience thought him mad, and suggested bleeding, and Bedlam. Corruption again whispered in a low voice ; her magic made all clear as noon day ; his ways were no longer mysterious, nor were his dark metaphysics unintelligible. A moment afterwards we beheld him in the character of a hound, leashed in the hand of power, ready to be loosed as soon as the game was started. Mark well his docility ! his surprising and

rapid turns : the keenness of his nose ; the staunchness of his sitting ; no day too cold, no scent too faint, no wind too high. After all our little, cunning turnings, stops, and scudding, we are overtaken and worried !

Then came Apostacy, begot by Fear on Corruption—a rickety imp, on whose broad front was written “ Falsehood.” Its feet were shod with falsehood ; its forked scarlet tongue, stuttered from the quivering of its coward heart, and scattered its many lies innocuous around. It provoked contempt and disgust, but hardly hatred. Loud it screamed in applause of power ; it was dumb in its own defence. Sometimes inflated with insolence, and saturated with plunder, it held up its fiend-like head, gazing with unmeaning vacancy on the victims which it had betrayed. Steeping its hands in blood, it was eager to engage in the murderous work, which even the consistent vile refused to execute.

To close the march, and complete Corruption’s train, came hobbling with his rustic air, the booby bumpkin, Corruption’s surest

dupe and tool. His magisterial dullness puzzled those laws in their execution which his senseless fears had shouted by acclamation ; and tired upon and disfigured the statute-book. Too stupid to enjoy the sweets of freedom, his mean and low jealousy curtails that enjoyment in others. See he scatters his illiterate spawn into every by-path of public preferment, riding us down with pluralities,—they themselves even suffocating for want of breath,—in each apartment of Church and State ; and again, in their turn, exhausting, like an air-pump, the parched lungs of an expiring people.

And now to turn my observations upon the administration of government, which indeed I have not harshly or unadvisedly made, either on my own country or on foreign states ; which observations I have not confined to my own times either, but have sought for the grounds whereon to make them, in history, both ancient and modern ; I cannot but come directly to the great arcana—the magnificent secret of this craft of government, which seemeth to me to be the philosopher's stone, which hath

been discovered by our great and shining wits. The profound mystery of this trade, therefore, is the cunning extraction of the people's substance, by what is commonly called taxes. And although all great theorists, in writing upon government, have ever held that these taxes, or contributions, are the free gift of a people, for their own well-being, whether to an arbitrary prince, or to the administration of a free state,—although the Great Turk himself, and even He of Algiers, pretend that they reign by the grace of God, and with the goodwill of their faithful and loving people; and that their goodwill, kind love, and fidelity, are manifested by their voluntary contributions; yet they scruple not to take off heads, whenever these kind sentiments are rather tardy in their manifestation.

Abundance of this fine talk have we also in popular assemblies. Government, forsooth, is an institution fashioned for the good of the people; it emanates from their will; it is to protect their property—to preserve that property to their use; to take, with their goodwill, but a small and scanty pittance of

it, merely to pay the public expense, which is to be as cheaply assessed as the nature of circumstances will admit of. These institutions are to watch and examine the public accounts, to see that no fraud, no injustice creep into them ; that there are no idle or useless servants thrust in between the public service and the products of the sweat of the brow of the people. Aye, in good truth, this form of government is what metaphysicians term *à posteriori*, and not *à priori*. Were it to be the latter, then the kingdom would become like a private estate, and belong exclusively to its rulers, who would then be its owners. But no, thank God ! that is not the case ; our government is cheap, economical, just,—leaving the people the full, fair, and free enjoyment of their gain ; protecting property in every branch. We have no drones in the hive—no useless places—no unnecessary pluralities ; all are good, true, and effective workmen that are employed. If the reverse were the case, then the people would only be the slaves to prop up and supply the revenue ; and not, as it is now the case, that the revenue

is the necessary expenditure for the public welfare ; the reverse is the fundamental principle in this point of view (it being the free, joyous gift of the people) to pay the expenses of the state, all of them being necessary to the existence of the state. Thus the standing police, and the standing army, are only the graceful ornaments of the state, and prove to the world that we are an enlightened, civilized people ; that none but barbarians are bereft of this splendid appendage to civilized government. It is the difference between a great capital and a wretched village—the streets of the one are crowded all night with watchmen, who, to the great delight and edification of its supposed slumbering inhabitants, call the hour in a loud and clear voice, thereby affording them a useful moral lesson, upon the rapid flow of time in this our transitory state. In the wretched village, the ignorant rustic is left to doze profoundly on, without any such excellent admonition. So it is in a great state : we must have armies, paid magistrates, and all the useful train, not

forgetting informers and approvers. Myriads of courtly officers, which add grace and dignity to the splendid establishment of government, strike foreigners with awe when they come to visit our capital, and cause brisker circulation of money, to the great improvement of trade; which is not then left in the parsimonious hands of country Peers, country Commoners, and country Farmers.

Then how should our eyes be dazzled with such corruscations of wit; our ears delighted, or our souls feasted with the rich and copious streams of eloquence which abound in our senate, if the hand of the bounty of the court were withheld from showering down upon the heads of aspiring orators and statesmen deluges of gold? These men, no less profound and sagacious than eloquent, are continually looking abroad for glorious opportunities of enabling the nation to manifest its firmness, and exalt its glory, by the means of foreign wars. Here again is another great means of the brisk circulation of money. How many thousands of families would have

never seen the light of heaven, but for this *heaven-born* expedient ! who have sprung up like *mushrooms* in a night, and thus infallibly proved the productive richness of our soil ! How interesting to observe their deep research in the science of politics ! all the surprising turns whereby they have set themselves to making money ; the wonderful exertions of their ingenuity, which they have been so fortunate as to practise sometimes without any *serious accident* to themselves. And when, indeed, these *little accidents* have occurred, contingent to the great ingenuity in production and reproduction of capital, have they not excited the ingenuity, and talents, and science of another great and necessary class to the prosperity, the existence, and the glory of the state, namely, the gentlemen of the long robe ?

Thus in the fine-drawn scheme of a modern polity, all live by means of the opposite exertions of each other ; all fructify from each other's happy efforts.

That great, glorious, and noble science of the law, and its elaborate and intricate prac-

tice, would have been lost to mankind in a dull, honest, stupid, unsophisticated state of society. We should have never espied so many luminaries, which now light up the expansion of human intellect. Besides, were it not for the wonderful workings of the machine of government, wealth would be out of proportion, or rather it would abound in the hands of those who do the state little honour—the rustic proprietors, the farmers and labourers. These men, living aloof from the blandishments of the court, or a voluptuous capital, have little occasion for a superfluity of wealth; they have all good houses, thanks to the provident care of their ancestors. Simple fare, and that even sparing, is the more wholesome; and will keep and preserve their limbs more elastic, and ensure health and longevity. Surely, then, in a moral point of view, it is a mighty discovery to have made, that all the superabundant wealth should flow from the proprietors and cultivators into the hands of the public creditors and public officers, and to the three great faculties of divinity, law, and physic, and all

the innumerable train, the myriads that on them are attendant. These three great corporations, so necessary, so essential to our welfare, and even existence :—the first, that extendeth so widely our charity to the whole human race, and that giveth us such clear and exalted notions of God's providence and creation ;—the second, that protecteth with such a lynx-eyed sagacity and consummate honesty our property, and leaves us, in all our dealings one with another, so much to be decided by the natural deductions of reason and common sense ;—the third, that invigorates our earthly bodies much after the same manner that the first do our afflicted spirits, and that rambles through all the productions of the mineral and vegetable, and sometimes animal world, to elicit the grand specific of health, and correct the deficiencies of dowdy Nature.

We at least keep one part of the community in a state of stoical abstinence, and this goes mainly to the support of my theory.

Well, then, the great object of government is the raising contributions, or taxes ; that is the main spring of wealth, that is the exci-

tation to exertion, consequently to virtue : for moralists hold that virtue is never dormant, but ever active.

This is their fanciful virtue, their social order ; their loyalty, their terrestrial happiness, their preparation for eternal bliss !

But to that we reply, we are not your dupes—your final object is to create another class of proprietors, besides the natural or the legal proprietors. The natural proprietors are the people at large, who are indigenous to the soil—who give their labour in an honest way. The legal proprietors are those who having laboured, or whose fathers having laboured, have acquired a portion of the soil. Here we have a society. The natural course then would be, that governors should be chosen, to regulate the concerns of this society ; to protect persons and property by primary laws, and to administer them. This is good, so far. But then these societies, always ambitious, always craving, exceed this modest demarcation, and swell or extend its population, its wealth, its territory. Instantly springs up excuses to create a new class of

proprietors, who require payment, either for their services rendered to the public, or the money that they have lent them. These spring out of such a state of things—that artful scheme of policy that leads states to their ruin: for these mock proprietors, having got to the head of the direction of affairs, contrive by much art to make themselves so necessary, that they cannot be displaced without running the risk of overturning the whole state, which the mass of the people, loving their ease, can hardly be brought to accomplish,—so they allow themselves to be sacrificed for that ease. These mock proprietors, then, have accomplished their ends: that is, to convert a nation into a private estate, though they will not call it so; their final object being to make out for themselves a second proprietary of the kingdom, it being impossible for them to seize upon the real estates of the real proprietors, except in cases of what they call treason, when they find a ready excuse to possess themselves of these real estates. Now the mock proprietors hold their proprietary by various methods, the

most approved of which has been, to give the people the semblance of a popular assembly, as our Milton saith :

“ The semblance of a kingly crown had on.”

This the Emperor Tiberius well understood, as Cornelius Tacitus informeth us, for he had the semblance of a Roman senate, which enabled him to erect out of the taxes a proprietary nearly equal to the legal and natural one thereof. It is curious to observe, in the same author, how exactly similar this mock senate was in all outward appearance to the old Roman senate that had so gloriously governed the republic; and that many foolish senators fancied that they enjoyed the same privileges, and were endued with the same graceful dignity. Another method of sustaining the false proprietary, when revenues arise from the public taxes, are frequent wars, and standing armies in times of peace; paid magistrates, and the whole machinery of the police, which requireth very nice management; as also the whole secret of the time, mode, and arrangement of sham plots and conspi-

racies depending upon dexterity. Possibly this is one of the deepest mysteries and arts of government. By this means,—so much practised in the fall of the Italian republics after the middle ages, and indeed, to go no further, sometimes attempted in our own country, though so bunglingly, as seldom to escape detection,—obnoxious persons, however cautious or innocent, may be expeditiously got rid of; and the timid frightened into the support of the false proprietary; the slothful spurred into their assistance of it; and the cowardly rallied round what are termed the sacred institutions, which but too often are the flagrant abuses of states.

One observation I will venture to make. It appeareth to me that all rulers are more inclined to lean to and favour a false proprietary, than a real one,—because the latter is more independent of them. The legal inheritor of an estate, or a man that depends upon his own industry in trade, or upon his talents or success in any great faculty or pursuit, or upon his own ingenuity or labour, is necessarily more independent of the existing

government than he who exists out of the necessities of the state, or upon its bounty, or from the lavish partiality of the rulers thereof. The first class need only look to general good government to be attached to and support the state, and its form of government; the latter class thrive by its *ill* government, and fatten in proportion to the leanness of the people at large. This class, then, are much more dependent upon the actual government, and are its creatures,—often ready, at all hazards, to support its separate interests, in contradistinction to the public good. This consideration alone, independent of the monstrous waste of paying sturdy beggars,—for so are most state pensioners and state lenders of money to be considered,—this consideration alone should decide all wise and provident people to endeavour to suppress such a class. But, unhappily, every people love their ease too much to look into their real condition until too late; when they from being first hoodwinked, are afterwards handcuffed: so that they must bear the burthen upon their backs, and the wily knaves

who have thus compassed their object, then laugh at their public simplicity.

Great statesmen acquire immortal honour by this generally adopted mode of government. When executed with care, it leads ever to success, and vast sums may be pleasantly and yearly extracted from the people. The real proprietors, being bewildered, cajoled, or terrified, part with half their estates in the way of taxes. As to the working classes, armies, prisons, and gibbets speedily obtain their consent, if not their good-will. The theorist in his closet, contemplating the real state of things, and the general manœuvres by which governments are carried on, can hardly conceive these things. He is evermore confounded with the notion how the ruin of great and enlightened states are brought about, by having a false proprietary added to the real proprietary, which causeth it to pay troops for its own enslavement; to waste its labour, or its acquired or inherited property, merely to satisfy the whim of a faction, which may have delighted its ears with a few high-sounding words; and that

it will sate the avarice of other men, to its own ruin and loss, merely to gratify some paltry conceit of its own. Another notable mode of establishing a second proprietary to a kingdom, founded upon public taxes, is the remuneration of pretended public services, in the way of pensions and useless places,—the true definition being a falsity or a prevarication, for the useless place comes under that denomination.

But why should I run on thus, to prove what every one knows, that the final object of all government is the taxes. That to know how far, and in what manner to raise them is the test of every statesman's talents; to keep the nation in such a wholesome state that it shall not be so distressed as to revolt, and not so wealthy as to be independent of the second aspiring class of proprietors, or the consumers of the public contributions,—who, to do them justice, are in general the men of the greatest abilities, and who make most shining figures in public life, both as to their wit and eloquence; inasmuch as a mountebank is a much more amusing fellow than a

country clown, and obtains through his art and talk double the clown gains, and moreover obtains the renown of a great man ; that is, in plain English, a great impostor.

But of all the encroachments of power, the most sordid and the most mortifying is the perpetual restrictions upon free trade that all governors insist upon, thereby not only renouncing the facilities which Nature hath afforded every people for the mutual enjoyment of each others productions, but setting aside also a great law of Providence, *viz.* mutual harmony and support. When I behold those prisons of our industry, custom-houses, with their guardians, the numerous swarms of the gaolers of our enjoyment and of the transfer of the mutual bounties of heaven, I want no more evidence to protest against the system of the centralization of power—the government *à priori*—the converting a kingdom into a private state, and the farming it out to false proprietors. I require no other evidence of the besotted stupidity of pretended civilized man, who passeth laws to his own detriment ; who denieth himself that which

God presenteth to him as a *free* gift; who manacles himself with odious, and at the same time contemptible restrictions; and who from his obstinate and wilful ignorance runs the risk often of starving, because he shuts up the sea, the great high road of the nation between various and distant people: and, as a climax of absurdity, meanness, and servility, he listens to those who would instil into his bosom idle fears of his own brethren and neighbours!

Whatever, then, the government of a country may pretend, they certainly look upon a kingdom in the light of a private estate. They consider not that taxes are a free gift of a people; that the levying of them forms no part of a legislative power; but, on the contrary, they look upon the nation as so many slaves, who are to work for the profit of government, and its associates; they are willing even to swell the number of those associates, because the more extended the influence, power, and profit—profit and power being the final cause of all governments. On these words they ring the changes. If they can get

the one-half of the people to work for the other half, and constitute, under various characters, that half as state pensioners, so much greater the influence, so much greater the power, so much greater the profit! The more consolidated the system of government, the greater play is then afforded for the ardent feelings of the loyalty of the people. In what manner can a nation manifest its attachment to its government, more than by wasting its substance in paying unnecessary taxes—either to increase the splendour of the monarch, or to fill the pockets of their representatives? The greater the poverty, the more crying the misery, the more crushing the distress, the more noble and disinterested is the affection, the loyalty, and the attachment of the people.

What a touching and beautiful spectacle, to see the whole wealth of a nation, and all its productive industry, at work in a thousand ways, for so good, so glorious a cause! The blessings of the Clergy are on their heads; the joys of Paradise are open to them, where they will find their eternal, well-merited re-

ward, for such edifying, such generous conduct!—Taxes being, then, the voluntary gift of the people, for their own well-being, and that well-being having been demonstrated above, their representatives are guilty of no robbery, no fraud, in voting such as ignorant, factious people may in their egregious folly conceive to be useless. And what are dungeons, judges, juries, whipping-posts, and gallowses made for, but to contain such factious and disorderly persons, who would step in between the free bounty of the people, and the grateful acceptors of that free bounty? And what do the people pay troops for, but to arm the laws?—To give them due effect, and cause them to be executed; to the terror of those blind, wilful, obstinate, discontented persons, who would wish to see a seditious superfluity overflowing the population, which would only make them comparatively idle, or give them such high notions of their own independence, as would be perfectly incongruous with the Christian notion of self-denial and humility, which our holy divines teach. Such a fortunate state of things were

unknown to the old Romans, who had very narrow notions of the splendour of governments; and also to our own ignorant and barbarous ancestors, who conceived that parliaments should be annual, in order that a corrupt commerce might not grow up between the representatives and the minions of power, who could never see the advantage of pluralities, in church or state; and who conceived that the laws ought not to declare one use, and pursue another. But these were ignorant barbarians, who, when they foolishly thought themselves to be oppressed, dared audaciously to mount on horseback, and demand the reason of it in the field! Witness the encampment at Runnymede; the constitutions of Clarendon, and the Barons' war with our Henry the Third. Our modern barons are grown much wiser; they share the taxes for themselves and their relatives, with their minions of power or favour. Thus all ends now in a compromise; and those barons or gentlemen, who, stand aloof from falling into their vortex, are naturally considered as fanatics and visionaries; they, forsooth, are

only older schoolboys, that have brought away with them from school, absurd notions of Roman and Spartan virtue; and should they be so indiscreet as to mention aloud these chimerical opinions, “prisons, halters, and gibbets” is the cry. One misfortune is contingent upon these predicaments; that is, that the wealth of the nation may soon, peradventure, fall short of the bounty of its representatives.

One great art, indeed, of moulding and forming a nation according to the fancy of the ambitious and rapacious few, who are for the moment fortune’s fools, is the classification and separation of the people into various and different interests. Setting one of these against another; making them work in large corporations, generalizing them in their avocations, and not the leaving them, individual, as it were, in the means of acquiring their subsistence. Talking of the wealth of nations, which, being interpreted, meaneth the poverty and slavery of individuals, one great means to forward the perfection of these refined and extensive systems of slavery and misery is in reading the works of a wicked

set of jugglers, called political economists, now much coming into vogue for the first time ; and who, by generalizing the works of man, make him more completely a slave than by other means. Thus the State becomes a large farm, and the people thereof tenants at will. The monopolizers talk to them incessantly of the vast productions of the farm ; and the poor, servile creatures who work it, or who may have conceived that they have inherited a share in it from their ancestors, are surprised how scanty are the gains that come into their hands ; they are comforted by being told how vastly rich the state is ! But they are not metaphysicians enough to understand how the state is the exclusive, devouring monster.

To conclude these sharp remarks—which the sinful wickedness of the age in public life hath tempted me to make—that vile apostacy from honesty which is seen at every turn, that meets us in our most private walks, hustles us in every by-path, rides us down upon the open road, and scandalizes all, in every assemblage of men, obscuring the slen-

der beams of virtue, which gleam but here and there palely through the pestiferous mists of universal corruption.

Public men, affecting often in their private life sometimes austerity, sometimes an exactness of honest conduct, catch thus at a reputation of righteousness, the more easily to collude with their public life, in order to fill it up to the brim with fraud, oppression, and ill-gotten gains; their greedy fingers have the properties of the philosophers' stone, for they turn all they touch into gold. If their slender abilities give them any claim to public patronage, this is a source of indecent profit; every post in church and state is sold. Nothing is held sacred from their rapacious grasp; neither the feelings of humanity, the apprehension of public shame, nor the fear of retributive justice, allay the incessant cravings of the hunger of their voracious appetite.

Their little children are suckled in corruption; for hardly have their tender eyes struggled against the light of their first day than they become pensioners; and, cradled in

scandalous reversions, rock to sleep their future virtue ; their worn-out doxies batten on state pensions. Thus extremes meet : the innocence of primitive infancy, and the polished depravity of withered age, both consume our productive labour, or our legal inheritance.

And now, I exclaimed in sober sadness, can such a monstrous state of things last ? Are we men, or are we brutish beasts, that we are condemned to the prolongation of such a servile state of existence ? Is the glory of our valiant ancestors to be for ever eclipsed in our horizon ? Are the first precepts of our education to be thus marred, by the perpetual contemplation of such daily occurrences ? Is there not an universal apostacy, a strange falling-off among the body of the ministers of religion, that they are dumb upon public vice, and loud only in support of *power* ? Are they not themselves, by such conduct, moving backwards to the brink of a precipice, into which the slightest stir of the congregation before them may unwittingly precipitate them headlong ? Exalted

above earthly considerations, is the rooting out every honest principle in the administration of public affairs, which must ever be considered as the proximate cause of the dissolution of government, to be viewed by them as a thing indifferent? They are fervent in their denunciation of the wrath of Heaven upon private dishonesty, upon private theft, upon private murder: but because these woeful vices are extended into a large political circle, do they cease to be such vices as the Clergy deem themselves called upon, or competent to denounce? Have they lost, with the fire, the eloquence, the courage, the *honesty* of the old prophets? Will they never put off their lethargy, until the day of redemption shall be past? Will they not endeavour to stop the gangrene which is spreading fast over the whole body politic, and which may, peradventure, ultimately taint the leaven of their purer mass? When the evil fruit of the State may cleave unto the Church, as the leprosy of Naaman, the Syrian, cleaved unto Gehasi!

The approaching awful state of the nation

will narrow the rancorous animosities, the malignant feuds, which wicked and desperate men have excited ; all their venom, all their malice, all their attempts to tear up liberty and public honesty, will, and must prove abortive ; and public execration will be then turned upon their own devoted heads. If they have imagined to root out those eternal principles in England, they have imagined a vain thing ; and at last they will pay for their presumption. The boisterous ocean roars around our rugged shores : I began my book by saying, that it hath been the safeguard of our liberty hitherto ; wicked men cannot traitorously call in foreign assistance ; and, except from an universal apostacy, a great falling-off, they cannot compass their designs ; whereas on the continent of Europe, the despots can play into each other's hands, and for a while seem to set the high heavens at defiance ! But their hour is not yet struck ; let us pray, as a crowning mercy, that their passing bell may be soon tolled—its awful tolling will sound loud and dismal in their ears ; it shall be heard from

the west to the east. But to the ears of suffering humanity it shall sound a most delicious music, which shall pour the balm of its harmony into our grated souls, so long fretted and set on edge by the discordance of despotic rule. We shall then pluck the sad cypress from the tomb of Liberty, and plant on the grave of Tyranny the glorious laurel. Our brows may again be encircled with those civic wreaths which most become them. Fighting in the cause of freedom, the glory of our soldiers will then be in harmony with their prowess ;—of late, their glory hath only been elicited from that prowess, while their renown hath been such as not to have been crushed and annihilated by the demerits of the cause.

CHAP. VII.

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AND now, preferring philosophical freedom to the constrained pursuit of a fettered ambition, I dedicated my time to the examination of the various opinions that had been advanced, upon Nature and the existence of things. Indeed, I preferred the analytical method, applied to existing objects ; and then, should any chasm remain in the train of thought, to fill that up with those deductions which logic should supply.

As I have ever been much addicted to the scholastic method of definition, being the most concise and forcible, I had insensibly formed in my own mind two leading definitions of positive religion :—first, its conception was analogous to the science of

astronomy; its application, that is, its morality, was to be found in the natural affections. On these cardinal points all my deductions hinged. Astronomy is the science of the harmony of infinite expanse: this definition coincides, then, with the confession and worship of the Deity. The natural affections form the system of our relations with each other. It coincides, then, with morality. The fabric of our reasoning here is built upon the basis of positive reality and actuality. The consideration of the expanse of infinitude excludes more narrow positive systems, because it envelopes all existences in the mantle of the universe. This proposition is a conviction *à priori*; if the term universe is true, the conviction is true; then the proposition is true: because a projectile departing from any part of it, and pursuing its course in a straight line, can find no termination: its flight would be incessant; that which ceases not is actual, therefore the actuality of the universe is the definition of the universe. Here at once the human mind hath an affinity with

infinitude ; then it hath penetrated to the depth and extent of things,—for it requireth no other than to conclude the ceaseless flight of a projectile in a straight line, to conceive infinity. Infinity being once concluded, the mind narrows its perspective to the view of objects contained within that immeasurable scope ; and its first conclusion is then their adequacy, which notion is to be obtained by their rigid analysis. Here it striveth to unravel the maze of secondary causes, because analysis is the unravelling of secondary causes.

But the grand question to determine is, whether time and space be not within us ? that is, within the extreme extent of our sensations, which verge not beyond them ; that is, if we perceive by our sensations, through and in our sensations, these two properties, space and time ? My opinion is, that they are the extent of objective perceptions. If this be correct, it leadeth to most important conclusions ; because such a proposition annihilates the demonstration of time and space, through the medium of general ideas, bringing

them within the range of positive sensation, which alone is expressed by particular ideas. Thus the non-admission of these properties are *à priori*; then pure intelligence hath a conviction independent of the sensations, that conviction being the non-existence of space and time. Hence the actuality of the universe: if so, the actuality of pure intelligence, concluding the universe synthetically.

A state of movement is the relative position of an object with itself, or with another object; such a relative position supposes both space and time, because positions relative to antecedent positions suppose relative space and time, and are the converse of a state of repose. A state of repose not admitting of a relative position, excludes the idea of both space and time, for these properties must be marked by movement to ascertain them. The universe, considered as such, must be in a state of repose, because it cannot be subject to exterior movement: consequently space and time are incongruous attributes to the universe, though they may be attributes to internal

parts of the universe, and space and time are within us. They are, then, particular ideas, because the conclusion of a substance without space and time, that is, the universe, must be a conviction *à priori*—therefore the existence of pure intelligence. Such a proposition would solve at once satisfactorily the famous proposition, “of nothing nothing comes:” because we destroy the notion of space and time as a general idea, or referrible to the universe, and then *nothing*, as even a negative quantity, hath not even had a negative existence, because its place hath been supplied with positive existences. Nothing and actuality are an antithesis. Abstract actuality, then, is universal existence. The changes flowing out of accidents cannot be born of nothing.

This great and primary proposition hath ever seized possession of my mind, from the first dawning of my reason; and I cannot well recollect the period in which it did not form a continual and inciting source of curiosity. This led me insensibly to examine every accident, and to ask myself if it was insulated;

or if it did not spring from a certain cause, and that cause from another cause, and so on? Thus I have arrived at last to this conviction. It is, then, extremely agreeable—the most delightful recreation that the human mind can go into, to trace cause and effect, and to endeavour to unravel the labyrinth of our existence: I shall therefore endeavour to give a rapid and succinct sketch of the view I have taken of others, who may have been employed in the same pursuit with myself.

The early Greek philosophers had, indeed, drank deep at the fountain of philosophy, and had established many systems upon the divine nature—upon that of man, and on the world; but these systems were but the faint sketches of the dawnings of human reason. They pursued, indeed, the right road, for they began by a close, objective analysis of every object that they took in hand; but still there was no system of general application, until the famous Zeno came to Athens: the vastness of whose genius soon established the grandest sect—that of the Stoics—that the

world had yet seen, and whose principles leave the surest guides and the truest landmarks in the wide ocean of philosophy, even to more modern times.

He began a lofty system, combined of physics, logic, and morals; and being opposed to the Epicureans, Sceptics, and the whole tribe of schemers, who had before interested the attention and excited the curiosity of those who had gone before him, he had still to contend with their disciples, which tended to consolidate his system.

The Stoics sought alone for pure abstract virtue, through all the mazes of their elaborate inquiries. Philosophy, they held, was the art to perpetuate their ideas; it was also the study of virtue. Their notion of virtue extended to the grandest scale. They held that all knowledge was derived from experience of the appearance of things; they absolutely denied all existences, except in substance;—hence two famous axioms, “what is not body is nothing;” and “of nothing nothing comes.” They maintained the soul was a substance, upon the same principle;

a substance separate from the body, but still a substance ;—the receptacle of impressions, which became the source of ideas. Thus the soul, in receiving impressions, was purely passive ; the congregation of those impressions which were then left upon it created experience, and from this experience the soul drew its general ideas. That which I have ventured to denominate pure intelligence, and which I have hitherto designated under the head of the concrescence of the sensations,—these general ideas are certain universal conclusions that all men come to. Their application, then, is in respect to particular cases : for instance, they defined truth to be “ the real concordance of any subject with its attributes, or the reality of any thing against which something is opposed.” They subsequently felt themselves obliged to give into subtleties, to protect themselves from the other sects, who considered them as too dogmatic with regard to tracing the origin of our ideas ; that indeed is, a subject which has been viewed in various lights from that day to this, and will ever be a fruitful theme

to those who delight more in the subtleties of metaphysics, than in the tracing the actual power and predicament of the human mind. For my own part, I freely confess it is the part of the subject that I have ever felt the least interest in.

In natural philosophy, the Stoics submitted every appearance to the most rigorous analysis. They maintained most dogmatically the famous proposition, that, "of nothing nothing comes." Chrysippus held that if that proposition was denied, all error and all truth would cease. I copy exactly their doctrines. This principle obliged them to admit that something must have existed from all eternity—that was corporeity; and out of corporeity nothing existed. That principle must have had the faculty of activity and patience; it possessed other attributes of corporeity—divisibility and extent: that is, length, breadth and thickness. Extension included also solidity; this divisibility was not infinite. Space and time had no reality in it; the ideas that we have of it are drawn from the divisibility of matter. It was the

active principle of the universe that formed and modelled the universe—that active principle was corporeal; but it was contradistinguished from inert matter, which was necessarily passive. Its great attribute was movement, which it communicated to inert substances.

Zeno borrowed from Heraclitus the notion that fire was the visible phenomenon of the active principle. Hence the grand conclusion, that the universal active principle of substance was the cause of the world. It was the Divinity. His attributes were life, thought, and feeling: for he created or modelled these infinite modes. It was nature erecting, conserving, and transforming. Endowed with reason, His actions tended towards a final object. The Divinity of the Stoics was not solely guided by abstract ideas. He acted perpetually through all modes of substances; a first cause operating through second causes: hence universal harmony. In fine, *God* they held to be the soul of the universe.

These being the leading features of their doctrine, the whole system of man followed necessarily by deduction. Rejecting super-

natural agency, they held fast to Nature ; for this was their great moral doctrine : “ Act always after the manner which really suits Nature the most.” Hence arose their famous deduction of the beauty of virtue ; the moral fitness of things, the rule of right ; the path of duty ; all these were their principles—because they were in harmony with the most clear principles of the natural affections. For instance, we may say it is in the moral fitness of things that a parent should cherish, protect, and instruct his child ; that the child should love, honour and obey the parent. The synthetic harmony of the application of these two principles constitute the beauty of virtue. It is in the moral fitness of things, that those who are entrusted with the government of a state should seek the advantage of the people governed rather than their own : hence the beauty of virtue—by driving all subtile metaphysics out of their system ; they concluded that religion was in harmony with dignity, and virtue, and self-reverence. Hence their Deity was the pure representative of the natural affections, developed in their most extended

meaning. Hence they attributed to Him the beauty of virtue in the highest degree: they approached Him without fear, because they excluded the evil principle entirely from him. Caprice, anger, or any of the corrupt affections never approached Him. Punishments were not retarded as in the Eastern schemes, that is, made metaphysical, and to endure hypothetically after life. But they were immediate, because any deviation from the rule of right obscured the beauty of virtue. Hence a moral punishment; through the means of the ill opinion of others, of the same general mode of thinking with ourselves, any physical excess was physically punished with loss of spirits and of health. They rigidly demonstrated the doctrine of causation. For instance, when Epicurus, who had adopted the systems of Leucippus and Democritus,—the philosophers who taught that the world was composed of the fortuitous concourse of atoms, and that there existed a blind chance, every thing being left to hazard: and that man was consequently a free agent, because he could follow his own internal movements as

his will *chanced* to incline him;—Epicurus's antagonists proposed to him this proposition, to which he could not reply:—"Every proposition is true or false, consequently this proposition is true or false—Epicurus will be alive to-morrow ; then Epicurus will be alive or dead, necessarily, to-morrow ; then there is in this case predestination." To this he made no other reply, than to doubt the truth or exactness of the original proposition, which necessarily exposed him to the railleries of the by-standers. Hence the philosophy of the Stoics, being that of rigid analysis and demonstration after the appearance of nature, they could not err, because they went upon those certain grounds, to which all mankind who have the use of their reason must necessarily give their assent.

Of all the old Greek systems of philosophy, that of the Stoics succeeded most at Rome. It was honoured by Epictetus, Seneca, and the philosophical Emperor Marcus Antoninus. It appears that the old Greek Stoics were not all agreed upon the doctrine of the immortality of the soul ; they left it in doubt, being ex-

tremely cautious of teaching that which they could not demonstrate; because they had no experience in, or could not arrive at a knowledge of it by means of the exact sciences. The modern Roman Stoics appear to have admitted it. Seneca makes use of many arguments in its favour, which shews at least that he strived to believe in it; and maintained that such a doctrine was the greatest consolation, in labouring under the pressure of misfortunes or ills. Sometimes he appears to have thought the hope of futurity to have been but a dream—yet still a delightful dream. Of the opinions upon this subject of Epictetus and the Emperor Antoninus, we know less; yet there is no ground for believing that they rejected this doctrine. But we assert, that throughout all their opinions there appears such a grand and edifying resignation to the will of Providence, such high and exalted notions of the divine nature, that they even contemplated death without fear; and they appear to have awaited whatever fate should be decreed to them beyond the tomb with philosophic coolness and he-

roic composure. Indeed, they teach that our affections should hardly be turned towards the benefits or the ills of life, which are but a delusion ; and even that we should contemplate death with the most perfect indifference, still under the supposition that any part of us survived,—as a wise man had nothing to fear, in every view he could take of the question.

Such were among some of the opinions of the old Stoics ; such the direction into which they wished to throw mankind. It must be confessed, after the lapse of ages, that nothing more sublime hath been since discovered ; that no system hath been so complete in all its parts—so much in harmony, so plain to understand, so little puzzled with abstruse, metaphysical definitions, and subtleties, and contradictions. All appears to be in harmony—the whole world, man, his moral and his physical existence, are one. No contradiction appears in any part of it ; no miracles to astound us—no traps laid to ensnare us—no mystical alliance between the civil magistrate and the priesthood, to play into each other's hands ;—no schemes, that find their

way the more readily into the minds of the weak, the timid, the infirm, and are, with regard to the more healthful and vigorous, upheld by gibbets and dungeons; no ideal and separated essences; hypostatical unions of incongruous elements; in short, none of the fond delusions on which the ignorant and the imbecile love to feast, and the interested and the ambitious to propagate. My mind, disburdened of the pressure of external circumstances, hath ever found the height of consolation in meditating on these glorious themes. It hath carried me into a new existence, in which I have left far behind me the waywardness and obliquity of the views and opinions of the common herd.

Pythagoras taught his system by means of the mathematics. He held that numbers were the original designations of things. — Thus the real element of bodies, the existence, as well as the unity of forms, depended upon numbers. This is the demonstration of identity and diversity: because if we conceive matter without form, it is without diversity,—then it is infinite. Hence the unity

and infinity of the universe are synthetic ; hence its homogeneity ; consequently its want of distinctive character, identity being the antithesis to diversity,—therefore universal identity. The universe, then, excludes heterogeneity. But as this latter quality acts from all eternity upon matter, hence is derived the world, contradistinguished from the universe : that is, congregations of heterogeneous parts. The Pythagoreans maintained the two necessary conditions of form to be the straight line and the curve.

As substance is infinite, these two forms are employed *ad infinitum* ; and from their application results the plurality of things. Now in examining this matter, we see at once the application of the principles of the curve to the heterogeneity of substances, and the straight line to its homogeneity. Hence the application of motion will be in the curve, and not the straight line, which will be ever in a state of repose, because there can be no dislocation of the universe, considered in its homogeneous quality. But there is a perpetual dislocation of it in its heterogeneous

quality : else motion would not exist ; then vitality could not exist, vitality and motion being synthetic. Time, and space, and movement belong to the heterogeneous quality of the universe ; they are nonexisting quantities with regard to its homogeneous quality. To one the curve is a property, to the other a perpetual straight line.

These principles appear to me to be much more satisfactorily deduced than the laws of attraction and repulsion, which have ever struck me as concluded *à priori* : whereas the former propositions are *à posteriori*, because they result from the nature of things, and the evidence of the senses ; and there is in them no metaphysical aid. But these laws of attraction and repulsion must, then, be the elementary principles of motion, absolutely belonging to the curve, because it is extremely difficult to conceive power without contact ; that is, that power and its efficiency will ever be in proportion to the force of its contact. Our experience proves to us, and we can geometrically account for the difference of the force of the sun's rays on the Line, or

at the Poles ; but, as I have said before, the dark and hidden part of Nature is the whole scheme of attractions, repulsions, affinities and sympathies, all of which are conclusions *à priori* ; and the more we search into them, the more we rest satisfied of the incomprehensibility of the Divinity. An astronomer, an anatomist, a chemist, all by dint of observation discover certain laws of motion, of forms, of the divisibility, congruity, and incongruity of matter ; but the primary elementary laws they cannot discover, because the demonstration *à posteriori* belongs to effects, and not to causes. The calculation of an eclipse is a very different thing from the explication of the origin of the laws of attraction, repulsion, and gravity. Hence, where then do these inquiries lead us ? To the eternity of the universe. Thus it is primordial.

At the head of the ideal school of philosophy stood Plato. His main principles were, that he found no fixed or determined principle in the sensations ; but he found that principle in speculative ideas. He confined

all reality to abstract reality; and although he was obliged to confess substances, he attributed to them only a real character, when they were ascertained and defined, as it were, through the medium of general ideas. It is impossible to follow this philosopher through the intricate labyrinth which his system endeavours to establish; having got into the wild field of conjecture, many parts of it are confused by the various contradictions that must necessarily run through it. Other philosophers had maintained that the reality of things, and their sensitive appearances, were the archetypes of our ideas, and that from the concrescences of the sensations (which is the doctrine that I have ever held upon the subject), we draw the inference of our pure intelligence: because by this means we have already a solid foundation whereupon to build a superstructure of rational philosophy upon. But if we conceive only the perfection of beauty in our ideas, or rather that our ideas of beauty are contained in our ideas of perfection, what standard have we to go by? for, after all, the

essential form must have been taken from the substantive form. Thus the ideal beauty of a flower must be a deduction formed in our own mind from the visible appearances of the flower;—we heighten its colouring; extend its foliage—but still the original flower is the archetype of the idea of a flower, else we never should have conceived that visible form. For instance, of sensitive forms, the most perfect, the most beautiful, is the human form. We fancy a young woman in our northern latitudes at eighteen, and a young man at five and twenty years of age, as approaching to our notions of perfection in that form: but had we never seen two such beings at such an age, how should we have concluded them? Then suppose, as painters, we conceive the perfection of their ideal beauty, that ideal beauty will be drawn from and through our own sensations, as artists and critics, and not from our pure intelligence, which holds more to affirmation and negation of simple propositions. The ideal beauty will be painted or described by one person different from that of another;

and this will arise from the diversity of the external organs and sensations of those persons. Some will give more character to this passion, or to that passion, according as the painter or describer may be himself affected by these passions, and thus prove my doctrine of the absolute physical atmosphere of the imagination acting reciprocally upon differently constructed organs, contained within the individual frame. This proves, also, that what we call judgment is the colouring of a decision, rather than a decision itself; because that decision was exclusively within us—that is, within our sensations. The faculty of affirmation and negation being, then, the only metaphysical faculty belonging to judgment, I am aware that this opinion will be held bold, inasmuch as it strikes at the very root of all free agency—but a careful analysis of our faculties proves it to us; and I confess that nothing ever hath tended to confirm me in the rigid deduction *à posteriori*, more than the contemplation of the Platonic and Aristotelian school. Accordingly we find that Plato even excluded the doctrine of cau-

sation ; because he distinguished moral from physical causes, and he prepared the way for that mystery, which hath since insinuated itself into all the modern systems of religion and philosophy ; which, consisting of a variety of subtle expressions and far-fetched definitions, wherein a great quibble of words were used, and these words being often arbitrary definitions, puzzled and confused the plain understanding of the mass of mankind, and were only to be understood by the professors, after much study and much exercise, and had the practical effect of erecting a system of things entirely out of nature, and which had no further relation with nature than that it was the exercise of the extreme verge of our faculties of deduction. But the main secret lay in the invention of curious and abstruse terms, in the supposition of separated essences and things out of nature : incorporeal spirits—original principles of good and evil—conflicting powers. Plato began the system, but there were found many excellent and exact truths yet in his mode of teaching ; but, unfortunately, he opened the road to

conjecture: and that was too delightful a path for mysteryarchs not to endeavour to pursue it,—the more as it had the desirable object of exciting the vanity of the whole class of professors. And as all men have ever desired power, and as metaphysical power is still stronger, and more cheaply exercised over mankind than mere brute force, these mysteries became in vogue; mankind became disgusted with the gross, sensual, irrational, atheistical system of the Epicureans, which attributed all to chance, and denied a first cause, operating through second causes. The Stoical and the Pythagorean precepts appeared too simple in natural philosophy, and were too rigid in morality. They then flew into the ideal system of the Platonic and Aristotelian schools, which made the Deity a much more mysterious and incomprehensible Being than either Zeno and Pythagoras had concluded; and these latter schemes were afterwards eagerly adopted by the civil magistrate, as an useful adjunct to his power. Thus it is that we have ever observed, from the earliest re-

cord of time, three main opinions or deductions of things—the one arising from mere brutal and daily habit, exclusively seeking present ease ; and such a scheme is congruous to atheism,—it may come under the head of the Epicurean system. *The second. a more rigid analysis of things, and rational deductions drawn after our experience ; and such a scheme is congruous with pure and exalted theism, which places our duties in the natural affections, our glory in the beauty of virtue, and our notion of immortality in the faculty of hope.* The third class of opinions are those of mysteriarchs, who deal in conjecture, and wild suppositions ; who form conclusions from the extravagance of their reason, not its sobriety ; who go, as it were, to the very verge of the tether of their imagination, and who keep the cord that holds them to the earth in a perpetual state of tension ; who form no general notion of the universe, either in its homogeneous or heterogeneous character ; who lay aside in their grand deductions the exact sciences ; and who plunge us into doubt, because they

teach us mysteries. Hence the discipline of this school; its modes, and essences, altogether confuse us with an unintelligible jargon of words, to which it attaches arbitrary meanings; and thus makes war on analysis; it would drive it out of the field; but we Stoics adhere to it—it is the panoply under which we fight—it is our shield—it protecteth us from all attacks. They, the mysteriarchs, for instance, speak generally of the soul as contradistinguished from the body, without even defining that substance, whether it lie in the affections, or what is called the understanding, which are two very different things; whether it be susceptible only of definitions and reasoning deductions, or of good or bad affections! All these propositions are repeated, examined, and ascertained by the process of analysis; they teach us, as a positive dogma, what they term generally the immortality of the soul: that is to say, its retrospective identity. Now we maintain the soul to be only pure intelligence, which is the result of the concrescence of the sensations; and no where

subject to the affections, whether good or bad, because pure abstract general ideas have nothing in common with sensitive existences, which depend entirely upon sensitive causation: and therefore the retrospective identity of man, such as he appeareth during his sensitive existence, cannot be conceived by man in a sensitive existence,—because the objective cannot have a sensitive knowledge of the subjective; because the doctrine of harmony and affinities would be overthrown, and the objective and subjective would then be confounded. Hope is the highest exemplification of the subjective, and all that a rational philosopher can conclude, that the notion of the immortality of the soul is rigidly contained in hope: we must, then, look to that argument narrowly. Man, we know, is made up of a variety of substances, all having vital motion and a sensitive existence, and depending upon certain external causes for that vital motion and sensitive existence, such as food, air, and a thousand other atmospherical combinations. When is his identity to be

taken,—at what age—during what process of his existence? The concrescence of the sensations of a child at five years old varies from what it is at twelve years; so on every seven years, until his death. His soul, if by that term be meant his affections, varies every seven years; nature hath made that soul, or those affections more tender, in proportion as he is in want of the assistance of others. So a young child is extremely tender; he cries if his nurse is absent, because he feels he wants her assistance. When he goes first to school, he feels the want of his parents; when he hath left school, and is launched into the world in the full vigour of youth, he feels more independent, consequently his spirits are more buoyant: his faculties more vigorous; and that is the moment in which he hath the least tenderness for his parents; the greatest repugnance for his tutors, or for his former master, if he hath just left his apprenticeship. This is the age, if he be born in the lower class of society, that he goes abroad, to seek his for-

tunes : concentrated more within himself, he leans less to others. A few years leap over his head—he grows weary of the pursuit of gallantry and unfixed love—he feels the want of a companion ; the buoyancy of youth beginning to be a little more quiescent, he seeketh for a partner. Now opens to him another field of sympathy and attractions—new modes—new relationships in life. Where is his identity now?—with his infancy, his childhood, his youth ? He himself becoming a father, he returns again to feel warm affections towards his own parents, if they live. Disappointment, misfortunes, have humbled his pride, dimmed his prospect of hope, but not weakened his affections or blunted his feelings : he seizes, then, his former friends by the hand, whom a few years since he would have regarded with a haughty look, or passed by with a slovenly salute.—Why ? Because he is verging to a state of more dependence upon the world : his vital principle is relaxing in its tension, in its elasticity. He sinks into age ; he becomes again a child—he is in want of the assistance of others—it becomes necessary to humour

him more—here his identity is greater than at any former period with his childhood. Now if the soul be sensitive, that is, seated in the affections, when and at what period, am I to ask, are we to take its identity with itself? It cannot be identified, because it is variable as the body. Is it the same soul in the ages through which I have traced it? Can its identity be preserved throughout them all? or is it to be that state of the soul which is to have a retrospective identity at the moment of the dissolution of the body, and its supposed separation? If so, we take it oftentimes in a state of dotage, of imbecility, of infancy, of idiocy, of madness. All these are great inconveniences. If the soul is capable of good or evil—then it is the affections—then it is in the body—that is, the body—because the affections are in the body; they are the actual substantive form of the body. Hence we cannot get over the proposition that retrospective identity must be in the sensations, and in the affections, exhibited in the outward form of the body.

Those, therefore, who contend for the pure

immortality of the soul—of which number I am inclined to be one—must place it in pure intelligence, which is in abstract, general ideas, which are one and indivisible, and which never preserve an identity,—because the proposition that two and two make four, that three sides of an equilateral triangle are equal, that it is in the nature of water to descend,—must be the same to the comprehensions of a child of ten years old, a youth of twenty, and an old man of one hundred.

Hope, which hath reference to futurity, is also a general idea, and is the same at all those ages. The child hopes—so doth the youth—so doth the old man. Here, then, is my notion of the soul and of immortality—general ideas contained in the faculty of hope. Pray have they any thing to do with good and evil? How, therefore, we can make the sensitive soul immaterial I know not, by any analogy, or after any acquaintance that we have with the laws of nature. We can make the immaterial soul, I can most readily grant, immortal; and have strove to prove that proposition throughout all I have written upon the

subject; and it must be immortal, because it is indivisible, and because finite intelligence must be contained in infinite. But, then, being indivisible, it can have no retrospective identity, because identity supposes divisibility. Indeed, divisibility and identity are one and the same; consequently if the soul, to be immortal, must be indivisible, then it can have no faculty of identity: because its identity is only to be ascertained from its outward and visible form, contained in the form, fashion, and stature of man—of John and Thomas, of Mary and Elizabeth. And, let me add, that these four cannot themselves be identified rigidly during the term of their natural lives, there being required a long process of tracing them, and examination of witnesses, registries, and other contingencies, to be accurate in that identity. He who recollected John a little boy, and Mary a little girl, is puzzled as to their identity in a few years—nay, more, even after they have grown up to man's and woman's estate, we cannot, even being their near relatives, make it out: to prove this we have only to absent ourselves

for a few years from their country, and then to walk the streets, and we shall presently have cogent reasons, either in their non-recollection of our forms, or our non-recollection of their forms, to admit the accuracy of this reasoning. We see, then, how difficult it is to preserve identity in this life, so that it shall be universally acknowledged as such. Hence I come to the following syllogistic conclusion: if the soul be immaterial, that is indivisible, it is immortal; then it cannot be identically or synthetically proved; if on the other hand, it be identical, then it cannot be immortal, for rigid identity doth not exist in fluctuating modification: and all modifications that are not general, that are finite, are fleeting and fluctuating, consequently not identical. If, therefore, the soul be immortal, we cannot conceive it to be identical; if it be identical, it cannot be immortal, for otherwise syntheses and antitheses would be confounded; then conventional terms would become arbitrary, and language would not convey the operation of intelligence; this would go to overturn all

certainty in the world, and would force us equally to deny the existence of truth and falsehood. Hence I adopt the method of analysis, containing within it synthesis and antithesis : and I cannot reconcile this method to the demonstrations of the Platonic and Aristotelian schools.*

The exclusive refinements in the Platonic and Aristotelian system of philosophy have caused them to be more grateful to the mysticity of the middle ages, than the simple and dogmatic categories of the purer philosophy which was founded upon the reality of things. The power of the priesthood was more increased by the science of the use of words, than by the discovery of the reality of things. In logic, we have only to establish a plausible principle—a little dexterity will then connect a chain of reasoning, and from an artful supposition we may draw what conclusion we please. Hence the Aristotelian system came

* St. Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians evidently maintains this opinion,—he reasons against *positive identity*; immortality, according to his doctrine, is a miraculous conversion of the body into another.

much in vogue, and hath been preached in the schools of most of the positive religions of civilized Europe. The priesthood have sought an alliance with the civil magistrate—the civil magistrate hath reposed upon the metaphysical aid of the priesthood. The centralization and consolidation of Government have then ensured their duration, without the troublesome and humiliating necessity of the good-will of the governed, and they have become the instruments of the glory, the rapacity, and the prodigality of those who have had art enough first to conceive, and then to support the scheme. But although Aristotle and Plato, as far as their system of morals were employed, have been the great authors of the spiritual tyranny of mankind, and consequently of its civil subjection, still their system of politics greatly tended to neutralize the evil effects of their metaphysical opinions.

Living in the midst of the freest republics, in their freest moments, Aristotle could hardly argue without the sphere of their moral attraction. Hence he begun, after his diffuse manner, to dilate upon the general scheme of civil society. He held that every form of

government which sought durability should be so constituted, that the part of the people whose interest it should be to maintain its existence, should be more powerful than those who should desire its overthrow, and rise upon its fall. With this view, it was important to consider both the quality of condition and the numerical quantity of the people. Now among every people we discover the essential distinction between their quantity and their quality ; and Aristotle maintains that their political constitution should be modified accordingly : that is, their reciprocal proportion.

He laid down that the quantity and the quality of individuals never correspond as far as regards the intenseness of force and action ; and when such a case (which is but a pure, speculative hypothesis) should exist, it would not destroy the preceding maxim, and the necessity of establishing its relative application ; that is, that the government should be so formed as to embrace the two classes of people, that is, those distinguished by certain qualifications, and those distinguished by mere numbers.

When, as to the quality, the nobles and rich preponderate, then the leading characteristic of the State is aristocratic ; when, on the contrary, the influence of those who are poor exceed theirs, the State becomes democratic. But in either case there is neither an absolute aristocracy nor an absolute democracy : these two constitutions being susceptible of many modifications. The government will ever take its form from the relative proportion of the quality and quantity of individuals ; but, in order to establish harmony in the whole, it is necessary to consolidate as much as possible the middling class between the other two, as they are the cement of the whole state. "Those," says Aristotle, "deceive themselves who would fain establish an aristocracy, by granting too much to the rich, and too little to the people ; they should look only to an happy mixture of wealth, because if the people become too poor, aristocracies and democracies degenerate into oligarchies, and in that case the ruin and the overthrow of the state is certain." We may, indeed, push this maxim of Aristotle's much further, and say that the

extravagant accumulation of wealth in any particular class will and must infallibly produce the predicament to be avoided. Now this presents to our view commercial and agricultural states. We have immediately before our eyes Phœnicia and Carthage; we have Tyre and Sidon. In the middle ages Florence, Genoa, and Venice. The first of the three latter degenerated into a tyranny, under the Medici; the two latter into the most suspicious and degrading oligarchies. In agricultural states, riches can rarely abound to such an extent as to become dangerous to its liberties, because the great lords of the soil are in fact only the channel through which wealth runs; their station superinduces constant expense; they are surrounded by many followers, and their own families tend to diminish and scatter their wealth, and he who is the actual proprietor, has more the nominal glory of chief than of being the real possessor of wealth; for he is tied down by entails and marriage contracts, and he hath less of disposable wealth at his immediate command to corrupt or betray the state, than the merchant or the tradesman;

he is identified with all around him, and he is distinguished only like the oak in the forest. Besides, pure agricultural states can mix only personally and immediately in war; that is, by pouring forth their population for the purposes of war: whereas commercial states, making use of the hellish means of their wealth, can bribe all mankind to mutual destruction, and even fatten upon their disasters. A government, then, at the head of a commercial state, governs by its worst passions; lays hold of its worst passions, and becomes the destroyer of the human race. Two landed proprietors cannot be rivals: they both live upon fair, habitual and permanent gains. Two tradesmen or merchants are perpetually rivals; they can only live in envy, and flourish by each other's destruction. Hence every commercial state must be corrupt; no matter how their institutions are formed, they must prefer money to honour. What a pregnant illustration doth not Carthage afford, and how wise the old Roman denunciation of the *Delenda est Carthago*! The process of acquiring wealth rapidly is destructive of health and long-

vity ; it is destructive of social comfort and salubrity, by its excitement of envy ; it engenders fraud and tyranny ; it setteth oaths at defiance, and crusheth honour, because when opposed to force it will lie and sneak, and seek every loophole to creep out of. It rooteth out all morals finally in a nation, for it degenerates into gaming ; those who have acquired it, amuse themselves in gambling, and make the lives, the destinies of the human race their game ; fields of battle are their card-tables, and men their counters.

We may conclude that the administration of a government of a state, should have been so directed as to have caused an immoderate influx of wealth into that state, and that by means of perpetual wars, odious in their objects, and unjustifiable in their mode of having been prosecuted. If the real people, that is, the agriculturists and the possessors of the soil have been shoved out of their places by the persons engendered and born under the new system (and not only have such catastrophes fallen upon them, but others till more deplorable),—that they have, like

the ancient Helots of Greece, become merely the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the new class, which hath sprung up under the pernicious influence of an all-destructive government—surely God and nature teach us to revolt at such a predicament! And the original question of property and possession now comes to be considered: whether an administration of government by force and cajolery has a right to dispossess the earliest possessors of the soil of their immemorial property, for a fictitious set of proprietors, who owe their title-deeds to the folly of the mass of the people, on the one hand, and to piracy, rapacity, war, and swindling on the other? I speak not here of the speculative theory of government,—such as, which is the best direction to throw a people into? what class or quality, as Aristotle hath it, is the best to foster, or protect, or to encourage?—but I speak of the possession, of absolute property and of usurpation. And here let me examine the meaning of the word usurpation, and give a rigid analysis of its meaning. It is a favourite word, and is bandied about in

all political controversies, as freely as atheism, rebellion, knavery, and any other opprobrious epithet that men throw into each other's teeth, without much examination of the import, and which have long passed current in society, as conventional terms of reproach. Now what doth this famous term of usurpation mean, or import? I take it to be an intrusion without right, lawful, or natural, or concluded, into any other man's property, and seizure or appropriation of other property forcibly; but in its large import it may be clandestinely. Now if the way in which this usurpation hath been effected hath not been consonant to the strict rules of justice, then a link is broken in the deductions, and that which by some links in the chain appeareth to be lawful possession, by the fraction of one link becometh unlawful usurpation. Now this is an extreme nice point to be decided upon; and men care not so narrowly to look into those links of the chain of just possession, because they know not what overturning of property it may occasion; and they generally desire to abide by actual possession,

if that actual possession, in its immediate preceding cause, appears tolerably fair and equitable. But suppose the predicament of a nation,—that is, the real people, such as the real possessors, occupiers, and tillers of the soil,—from a variety of concurrent circumstances, should be utterly ruined ; and suppose by the side of them we should behold another set of persons, who should, as I have before observed, be fattening from their leanness, and should be exalted in the exact ratio of the debasement of the others,—surely it might be convenient to inquire if such a state of things did arise from lawful means, and if no such link in the chain of possession, according to law, was broken ? Because if it could be made out that one link was broken, justice and law being only abstractedly a refined metaphysical logical deduction, the whole is destroyed,—and consequently the converse of lawful is unlawful, and unlawful possession is usurpation. And then we may inquire how we are to deal with usurpation—whether or not we are not bound to overthrow it, or to resist its progress, by every means in our

power? This cannot be applied particularly, because no country at present presents itself to my view precisely in such a predicament, and we must, then, go into hypothetical cases; and still the conclusion might be offensive to many, for men are not apt to run into such far-fetched arguments upon all occasions, as, who is originally right or who is originally wrong. Yet, at the same time, no argument can be so well illustrated, as by supposing cases: by that means we have the whole view before us, and our conclusions may be fairly drawn, and our motives not misinterpreted.

We will, then, suppose the case of Carthage, and endeavour to analyze a state. What is the nature of its existence, first as to its original congregation, its primary means of subsistence as a congregated body—what is the nature of public, and what is the nature of private property; and to what extent in right reason and in justice the municipal or civil law hath authority, and whether the maintenance of the congregated state be not indispensable—Is it not one and indissoluble? consequently that no law can rigidly damage or

tend to its destruction. A state, then, is any number of people who have congregated together and formed a society, and established certain regulations for their mutual well-being—whether to correct the violent or ill passions which may agitate and excite the breasts of individuals one against another, or to protect the whole from the invasion or insults of neighbouring states. Here, then, we have the definition of a state, agreed upon by all those who have rationally treated of these matters, and have not deduced its origin from Adam's original sovereignty. With regard to its primary means of its subsistence,—I use that word rather than its establishment, because it hath a larger signification,—that may have been erected upon various foundations : migrating and settlement—conquest—a colony separating from the parent state. No matter : the state is established ; and by a sort of common consent or compact, or by the allotment of a leader the legal, imperishable foundation of the state is fixed ; that is, its means of subsistence, in the narrower sense ; namely, the use and enjoyment

of the soil, and the production of the soil. Here, then, we have an absolute designation of property—the very basis of property—the positive establishment of property as a positive right. The original proprietors may be said to have a divine right to their property, because their possession of it was anterior to all compact, it being the basis of compact; compacts were subsequently made use of to protect that property. Now we might enter into the whole of the circle and subdivision of the civil law; but let it be recollected, that every combination of it declarative of use, and enactment of the civil law, must be subject to the *political law*, which has bound originally the people into a state or polity: and that polity was *à posteriori*, after the original prescription, *viz.* the absolute possession of property. That prescription of property is, then, the original of all political and civil law, because one or the other must be the original, either the law or the property. Now to make the law the original, would be to prescribe a rule in the air—upon no foundation; it would be to declare preservation was ante-

rior to possession, which would be an absurdity. The law, therefore, must be consequent to possession: thus the Carthaginians must have first possessed themselves of the soil of Carthage by prescription, and then founded laws for the protection of the possessors of that soil, which had by prescription become absolute property, vested in them—then vested in the heirs; otherwise it would not be absolute, for inheritance is a consequence of absolute property. It is the most universal and popular channel of possession; it hath become prescriptive, because it ariseth from the natural affections—from the first of them all, namely, the necessity of provision for our offspring, towards the existence of the eternal types of our species;—consequently the law must be in affinity to nature, and her reproductive powers. Therefore I hold that all government, and all policy of government, are consequent to this great original principle, that property is the foundation of government. If the basis of prescription be overturned, I readily admit that any political law may derange or change the inheritance

and succession to property, in the descendants of the original proprietors ; but not so in the converse case of the proposition. And though some may plead *salus populi suprema lex*, yet that pretended maxim is both vague as to its declaration, and often destructive in its application ; depending upon the vague opinion of what is the *salus* at the time being ; and that *salus* may be imagined and devised, and adopted, as the words of our law instruments run, by men called statesmen, not having the fear of God before their eyes, and being instigated and moved by the devil ;—and hence the destruction of the original proprietors, and the substitution of another set. Now we come to an exemplification of the word usurpation ; so that an usurpation may be construed to mean a violation of the original compact of the prescriptive right of property or of inheritance by a political law, because there might have been no countervailing authority in the framing of that political law. Can, then, the legislative authority of any state become a countervailing power to the original power of the original implied con-

tract? I hold not—because the law is *à posteriori*;—from reason, from analogy, we must conclude it: then it degenerates into mere brutal force, and its effects are one and the same with an usurpation. I cannot conceive the prescription of the possession of property can be otherwise than as it is here laid down; however any other justifiable plea may be urged, however masked, however drawn through a long line of false deductions in reasoning, and bolstered up with the eternal plea of *salus populi*, which is as good for one party as for the other, because the designation is arbitrary, and may be arbitrarily applied.

Let us now come to the point. Can the legislature of a state permanently injure the real property of the state, under the plea of the public safety? I say not. The temporary derangement of the property they may, because a battle cannot be fought oftentimes without burning a village, or trampling down a corn field; but they cannot, in defence of that property, trample down a whole nation, and destroy that under pretence of preserving it. Here is a fine absurdity: Carthage is

destroyed by the Carthaginians, in order to preserve Carthage to the Carthaginians! But is this so? Hath she destroyed herself to preserve herself? No—but to enrich herself. She was bent on conquest; or, in perpetuating commerce, she fomented discord among her neighbours; she excited them to war; she united occasionally in these wars; she levied enormous sums upon her own subject, both by direct and indirect taxes, and by *permanent mortgages*—to foster wealth; to sate her avidity; to sow dissention, ruin, and desolation among her neighbours, that she might become the great monopolist. She was disappointed—she ruined her original proprietors, and she created another set, who had encouraged her in her rapacious policy, and who had feasted and fattened upon the desolation of the world, and who afterwards survived in the midst of the desolation of their own country, and who have trampled under foot the ancient property by prescription, by the aid, and abetting, and concurrence of the legislature, namely, the senate of Carthage, no matter how constituted. But then Carthage hath not des-

troyed herself; she hath only destroyed the original possessors and cultivators of the soil of Carthage, and substituted a more enterprizing and fortunate set in their stead! Oh! I cry you mercy: then man and his property are not originally identified? What is this, but to set up a government of *expediency*, against a government of justice? Justice is applicable to man—expediency may be to the soil:—the government may subsist, and the man may be ruined! because the soil subsists. Then the expedient must be adopted: let the government march on in any mad career, there is the soil to work up—fresh sets of men are expended upon it. There is still an identity between the government and the soil, though there be no identity between the possessor of the soil and the government: because the latter can crush them at will, and still continue to subsist. Is this justice, then, or is it force? If it be the latter, it must be opposed by force; and the time, the mode, and the quality and application becomes a question of prudence. The whole question lies in the principle of the origin of property.

If it exists by prescription, then no political law can overthrow it, and its overthrow can only be illegally effected; that is, by force. Then, if the ejectment be made by force, the replevin must be made by force also; and if we are the old proprietors, we pledge anew our hearts and our arms for the continuance of the conservation of the state by our own means, and not by that of the superintending proprietors, to whom these properties have been mortgaged.

I have maintained throughout, that all virtue lies in the natural affections: I now go a step further, and humbly propose that all true pleasure lies in natural associations. Man, his existence, his happiness, is contained in his natural atmosphere. That natural atmosphere need not be his natal one: but it is that one where his feelings, affections, and interests are and have been most fixed. He is then related to his wife, his children, his parents, his brethren, his friends, his neighbours; his dwelling, his land, if he possesses any: if not, his labour, or the means through which he acquires his sub-

sistence ;—to brutes, to vegetables, to soil ; in fine, his views, his feelings, his existence is bound round by the Pythagorean curve. Hence countrymen, peasants, mountaineers, are particularly attached to their native soil. The *nos patriam fugimus*, the *dulcea loquimur arva*, hath been from the earliest periods the pathetic lament of poetry ; the *pro aris et focis* ; the surest and most powerful stimulus to heroism ; the defence of our native soil ; the most sacred appeal to patriotism. Natural associations, then, are a deduction from natural affections ; and, as a deduction from natural affections, or *vice versá*, which you please, they are synthetical. Patriots, heroes, legislators, poets, hath all strived to inculcate them ; to realize and perpetuate these feelings ; every rational system of philosophy has strived to uphold them—the consent of mankind in all ages, in every clime, have testified to the general confession and consent to them.

But there have still been found certain vipers, who have stung and infected this delicious congregation of generous feeling : a

sort of vermin ycleped political economists—who by mean, slavish drudgery, have ever endeavoured to root out the natural affections; to keep us asunder from natural associations, and extract as much vile labour as possible from the ignorant, foolish mass of mankind; and to throw the still viler produce of that vile labour into the rapacious hands of certain state mortgagees—certain monopolists: who gamble away the productive industry of nations, and shift their abode from state to state.—Like the horrid nightmare, that visits the replete voluptuary, and fixes him on his downy couch—so they, sitting upon our breasts, palsy our arms—rust our ploughshares—frighten us away from our dwellings—send us astray upon the world, or condemn our wan and wasting offspring to perish in our sight: for, like the vampire, they suck the blood of children, and like the ogre, they will have ultimately to feast upon our carcases.

These are the effects of the schemes of those who would drive men like brutes into great herds to labour, and who instil into us all their

jargon of capital—capital—united labour—division of labour—of consumers, producers—production — reproduction — interest, compound and simple—profit and loss. This unintelligible, this execrable jargon, put in practice, stamps every nation, where it hath passed current, with the seal of damnation. The professors of it are the demons that sacrifice to the god *Rapacity*. We must perform an exorcism—we must cast them out; and then, after an holy lustration, we may expect a beatific purification.

These ogres, these vampires—these blood-suckers, and carcase-feeders, who are congregated in great commercial cities, who fly like bats in the twilight of our glorious day upon parchment wings, bring with them more plagues than suffering humanity hath ever been scourged with, for they have torn our natural affections from our natural associations; they have intercepted the warm rays of the sun to fructify our earth, and declared blasphemously that He is an evil! How long are we to be insulted and degraded with this deep disgrace—the disgrace of being obliged to

listen to such sinful paradoxes? They have long set their birdlime to catch us, and nought but a strong and general tug can restore us. But why should I grow warm, and irritate my own feelings, and overturn my own theory—that of necessity? This will ever be a dispensation of Providence, to teach us the true doctrine of proportion of harmony; to shew us that virtue lies in moderation; to hold up the base satellites of unholy gain as contemptible and despicable, particularly when they feed upon an exhausted country. At length, without any more argument or analysis, I have discovered another meaning for the word usurpation. The usurpation of the mock proprietary of a nation over the real proprietary. Such a proprietary are true alchymists: they have discovered the philosopher's stone; they have turned even the lightest and most perishable substances into gold.

I know not why I have run into this rhapsody—it is a rhapsody;—but sometimes I have waking dreams, and then I indulge in extravagant conceits, that never can have any

reality, or arise in any country whatsoever. By dint of pursuing a deduction, I sometimes fancy that England may be ruined by attempting an universal monopoly; that she will strive to ruin her neighbours first, and that destruction will in consequence fall upon her own head. Then I am tormented by presentiments of Jew-jobbers—economists—public robbers—state mountebanks—and deluders of all sorts—and a thousand other impossible chimeras, which never before entered into man's mind to conceive. I confess, when I think of Cromwell's famous navigation act, and its consequences, I fear these things: first, because that act was not founded on the doctrine of true proportion; that it was not just; that it contravened a great law of nature—to leave the ocean free;—that it gave a forced and exclusive advantage to one state, in things which affected the comfort of individuals, rather than the greatness of the state. Because I hold that the greatness of a state can only be maintained by two methods—the one is great honesty in its international dealings, and to be ever prepared to resist injuries, and to measure itself

in the field with its adversaries, in a bold, open manner : just as an individual should in private life,—though here I am calling down the critics upon my head, by comparing great things with small. Somehow or other, this famous navigation act of Cromwell's, to my conception, always savoured more of expediency than justice. And of what avail is little, miserable expediency, in the great theory of national government, or international policy ? It will not ultimately prevail against the eternal fitness of things ;—if every nation should feel its own interest, and the time will come when it will be impossible to sear the purblind eyes of mankind any longer with error, each nation will compel its own rulers to be just, and govern them according to the strictest deductions of reason. What, then, becomes of state policy, or international policy ? The man living in one latitude will desire the fair enjoyment of the things produced by the man living in another latitude ; and they will hardly be restrained from forcing their respective rulers to allow them the full and fair enjoyment of these things, even by the flimsy theories

of political economists, or all the hoarse croakings of the ogres and vampires—the blood-suckers and carrion-feeders. The original elements of a state are man and the soil; his natural associations are with that soil, either as proprietor, or labourer upon it. Mechanists and artisans all come after, and not before: and those cosmopolites, who fly about and accumulate the productive industry of the lower classes, and to whom the state is mortgaged, are a nuisance that must be abated; an excrescence that must be cut off, or natural affections and natural associations are plucked up by the roots.

The *maximum* of the wealth of a state lies in the *minimum* of taxation. The permanence of wealth is a quantity equal to the degree of husbandry. The first stimulus to husbandry is the law of primogeniture, whereby a motive is excited to perpetuate wealth in families; by the individual industry and comfort of families the state flourisheth,—by the dispersion of, or mixture of families working in common, as in the case of manufacturing and purely commercial states, wealth is dissi-

pated—it having previously annihilated virtue, and patriotism, and liberty among the people: because the desire of acquiring wealth is the strongest motive, and, like gaming, destroyeth every other passion. Real capital is that which exists in things, rather than in the representative of the value of things, because the first is not so subject to become the sport of caprice or the passions: whereas wealth, converted into its sign, and subsisting without industry, is the prey of the perpetually sporting of the caprice and the passions. It hath no instinctive merit, or means intrinsically of attaching its possessor to it, whereas wealth demonstrated by things, and not by money, hath a thousand occupying, endearing qualities, which fill up the void of human life, and produce more enjoyment—than the more sudden, rapid, and transitory possession of disposable capital. A capitalist, unless he vesteth his wealth in things, sees it dispersed, or his immediate successor sees it scattered; sometimes it crumbles away, sometimes it is swept away by some sudden storm of passion or of caprice. So is it of a

nation : from the earliest records of time we cannot cite a single example of the permanence of a commercial state ; the capricious Goddess of Fortune, when you prostitute her exclusively to the acquirement of wealth, jilts you for some younger suitor, and leaves you, not only houseless, but penniless and overwhelmed. You have built her a palace—she staid to partake of your feast, to revel in your banquet, and she leaveth you on the morrow : and oftentimes so unceremoniously, that you are abashed and disconcerted, without the means of discharging the reckoning. The more sober, matronly state, that inviteth Fortune to her family repast, is smiled upon by the goddess ; she prospereth but slowly, because what she saves only is added to her stock—yet she is never in distress ; she plays no swindling tricks with her neighbours, or with her own children ; she cheats them not, by telling them lies, and palming base coin upon them for good—and then, as the climax of hypocrisy, and cruelty and villainy, hangs up on the gallows those sad wights, who have imitated the example, in a less degree, of their

superiors. Kill a private man, and it is murder ; massacre a whole nation, and it is glory. Commit a private forgery, and you are hanged ; *forge the currency of a whole nation*, and you are a great and able statesman ! Aye, but what doth that import ? What else, indeed, but the changing the value and sign of the real denomination of wealth ? These reflexions sometimes make me shudder. When I look upon public life, I envy the North American Indian, whom I have seen sporting in his canoe, or hunting in his pathless forests. Give we wings—let me fly to the uttermost part of the globe. Is there no desert where I can wander, without being insulted by the audacity of political paradoxes ? Am I to be doomed to see a nation hunted down, and left to die, by mock statesmen and political economists ? My dizzy brain becomes feverish at the sight—my stomach sickens—and my eyes almost refuse their office ; they stare with an unmeaning gaze around, because they see no way through the dark and terrible clouds that are gathering on every side. If the storm will purify

the atmosphere, let it come. Give us, then, oh! ye Fates! some repose at last. Let us pray that the hurricane, in its violence, overthrow not our households gods. At all events, let us rally round them, for they are within the circle of our natural associations. After all our excursive flights, we come home to them. Even the little birds flock together, and fly near home, when chased by the hawk. But I am returning to my former melancholy mood, which contemplation had in some measure chased away; and surely it were better to return again to it, than thus to be overwhelmed.

Of what avail are these researches? If they be not tolerated, the law is intolerant. Aye, it is the fundamental principle of the law to be intolerant—it is intolerant of crime; but reason surely guides the law to demonstrate wherein the crime lies. Doth it exist in speculative opinions, or in their application? Surely in the latter. But then it had its origin in the former—in the opinions themselves. Should not the law, therefore, cut short these opinions, which would be to cut short crimes? Then

we adopt the laws of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not. We lay prostrate God's providence, in the abandonment of the exercise of our intelligence; we return to a state of barbarism. The counteracting power to speculative opinions are opinions. For what are our universities instituted? They are driven out of the field of reason, if they call in the civil magistrate to their aid. The republic of letters acknowledges no external positive force; it deems such an usurpation. Force against force—reason against reason—speculation against speculation. Let, then, the secular arm combat facts, and the spiritual power opinions.

A great philosopher of the present age hath well said: "*Ubi unicuique judicandi libertas integra, et Deum ex suo inginio colere conceditur, et ubi nihil libertate carius nec dulcius habiteur.*" Such is the opinion of Spinoza, and the policy of the United States of Holland, where he resided. But if we persecute opinions, we justify Nero, who according to old legends, put the primitive Christians, covered over with pitch and tar, into

the lamps of Rome, in order to light up the streets with them. We applaud it, and confirm by this the handy work of the holy office of the Inquisition. We admire the glorious act of Calvin, in burning Servetus, and we chaunt hymns not in honour of the noble army of martyrs, but of their executioners;—we conclude, that which is must remain so. Farewell Science, farewell Inquiry, and ever-blest Analysis! Authority, thou weak-headed, iron-handed despot, reign sole monarch of our reason, for thy votaries have set thee up as the brazen idol, before whom all nations shall bow. Farewell, sun, moon, earth, and stars! we are no longer to view you as beacons on the expanse of the universe; nor are we to navigate our ships, calculate our tides, or observe the divine harmony of eternal movement and vitality. Gallileo hath been condemned and imprisoned, because he hath blasphemously discovered your eternal march! Quadrants, telescopes, straight lines, curves, flux, reflux, angles, squares and circles, be banished from our impious heads, which are to be filled, in fiction only, with beatific visions.

Happy are those who, like that learned and ingenious Italian, Pietro Pompanazzi, illuminated the opening of the sixteenth century! Happy, I say, are they who, like him, found a Cardinal Bembo for judge, and a Leo the Tenth for sovereign. Happy are they who speculate, while no rival positive religions are contending for absolute rule! Had it been his fate to live half a century after, he would have shared the fate of the profound and the learned Bruno, or the vivacious Vanini. The horrid tortures which were inflicted on Vanini indeed extenuate his rashness, and excite our pity, rather than our anger—for his levity.

Power! thou dwellest deeper in the hearts of man than reason, religion, or humanity;—these are the puppets with which you amuse the populace.

Pietro Pompanazzi was born at Mantua, in 1462. He studied at Padua; his works were, “*De immortalitate animæ; de incantationibus; de fato; de libro arbitrio; predestinatione, providentiâ.*” In 1516 the Clergy of Venice condemned his works to the flames: the pa-

triarch submitted this sentence to Cardinal Bembo, who not only revoked it, but erased his works from the proscribed list ;—*Leo the Tenth was then Pope.*

Jordano Bruno was less fortunate ; he flourished nearly a century later ; and he endeavoured to restore the ancient rational philosophy,—to explain the phenomena of nature, and to oppose the real school to the ideal in metaphysics. He maintained, by the most solid train of reasoning, the infinitude of the universe, and held all those opinions which might be deduced from such premises—opposing with great energy the Aristotelian school—and his extraordinary and sinister fortune demonstrates the detestable spirit of persecution. He was born at Nola, in the kingdom of Naples, and became, while yet a youth, a Dominican, and, having reasoned too powerfully upon the immaculate conception, the doctrine of transubstantiation—having moreover been guilty of the still more enormous crime of satirizing the irregularities of the monks—he was compelled to fly to Geneva, where he arrived in 1582 ; but

he soon found Calvin and Beza equally intolerant with his brother members. After two years' disputation, they compelled him to fly to Lyons, to Toulouse and Paris. Here he continued his attacks upon the Aristotelian school, with as little success; he was driven from thence. Neither did his foot find a resting-place until he fixed it upon a more genial soil to philosophy. In England he was received at the court of our great Elizabeth—the coryphæus of liberty and genius. He was familiar, and even by some accounts domiciliated with Sir Philip Sidney—a name dear to literature and fine taste—to chivalry and philosophy. After having disseminated the seeds of his philosophy throughout the north of Germany, he returned to Italy, where he fell into the fangs of the dire Inquisition. At Rome he heard his dreadful sentence with heroic calmness; on the 17th of February 1600, he expiated the sins of his genius at the stake; he was consumed alive by the flames, “in order that he might go into the other worlds, invented by himself, and there tell how the Romans treat blasphemers.” Such are the

honeyed words that Scoppius tells us were used, who was an eye-witness of this martyrdom. Such was the fate of that great philosopher, who was the leader of our own more modern ones, and who has been well described to have penetrated profoundly into the very spirit of ancient philosophy, without losing his own original character. His distinctions are considered as most sagacious.

I am neither the apologist for Vanini, nor for his cruel and relentless executioners. Vain, impetuous, and paradoxical, he gave entire play to his sarcastic humour, more in attacking the system of others, than in erecting and defending one of his own. The implacable hatred of the priests excited the Parliament of Toulouse against him ; and although he seized a handful of straw before his barbarous judges, declaring that that alone would convince him of the being of a God, yet, notwithstanding, he was condemned to be burnt alive : and he was accordingly precipitated into the flames, after having had his tongue torn out with pincers by the hands of the executioner

Thomas Campanella was another philosopher who doubted the truth of the system of Aristotle. He opened for others the road to the sanctuary of truth. Campanella was as illustrious from his genius as from his misfortunes. He was born in 1588, in Calabria. He studied theology, and became a Dominican friar. He opposed generally the Aristotelian philosophy, then in vogue, and maintained that all science was founded upon the evidence of the senses. This was sufficient—the court of Spain publicly accused him of secret intrigues with the Turks, for which there was not the shadow of a reason,—*it was the implacable monks that had decreed his destruction.* He was seized, accused again of endeavouring to introduce a change in religion, thrown into a dungeon, and put several times to the torture, without their being able to extract from him the *slightest* confession of any state crime. He himself informs us, that questions were put to him that had not the least reference to the crimes of which he was accused; in fine, *after twenty-seven years' sufferings, and confinement in dungeons,* he

obtained his release by the interference of Pope Urban VIII., under the pretext of transferring him to the Inquisition for final judgment, and who allowed him to escape to France. Such was the fate of one of the most ingenious philosophers of that age, moral and religious ; but not after the manner prescribed by the priests, who possessed power, and accordingly they reasoned after the manner that they have ever been inclined to reason—with force and punishments, rather than arguments. Kings, senators, nobles, people, all must bend before their all-grasping power ; those who pretend to reason must be handed over to the secular arm.

The earliest records of time have discovered to us mankind separated into little religious sects, which have been adopted, oftentimes, without examination ; nay, examination hath been deemed a crime exceeding positive vices. These sects, ever intolerant of each other's speculative opinions, and indulgent of their own caprice and vices, have filled the world with violence, wars, blood-

shed, executions, tortures, and restrictions upon civil liberty ; exciting envy and malignity in the highest degree, and alternately fortifying each other in their respective wilful, blind, and perverse adherence to sophistry or paradox.

The existence of so many sects testify against each other, and drive all rational and contemplative minds out of their sphere of attraction, to look for the Divinity in his works, in the expanse of infinitude ! When I think of a perpetual straight line, of the ceaseless flight of a projectile, the necessary admission of the non-existence of space and time, as general ideas, I cannot express the contempt with which I turn from these miserable schemers, who set up their opposite systems, and contrive to vex and annoy the whole human race. I see that the final object of them all must be temporal power ; and I agree with Cicero, when he writes to his friend that no two sacrificers can meet coming from their avocations, without laughing in each other's face.

AND now to you, Florence! eminently deserving your well known epithet of *Bella*! let me dedicate these opinions, which I have meditated and penned on your classic soil; where, aloof from party feuds, from heated disputes, and from viewing the sordid, and perpetual, rushing after avarice and ambition, I have ever found compensation in philosophic retirement from all that could awaken my soul, and interest my feelings in my own country; where I should have delighted to have even thought that my little efforts might have assisted others, who are striving to stem the torrent of corruption and willing slavery, that seemeth to be fast overwhelming her. It is not without vanity that in treading the banks of the inconstant Arno,—that Arno which is a type of the Italian mind, at times rushing down with the force of a mountain torrent, bearing away in swelling floods every obstacle within its reach; at others, sunk into lingering apathy, its waters meandering through a narrow and stony channel, hardly

conscious of existence;—it is not, I say, without vanity that, in wandering on its flowery banks, that I have sometimes, overwhelmed with the anguish of my inactivity, cried out, “But this spot hath been pressed by the footsteps of the celestial Milton—from surrounding objects he caught the fervor of his divine song; here he visited the imprisoned Gallileo, who discovered the celestial harmony of movement. Here meditated the philosopher of Malmesbury, the profound and sagacious Hobbes—the acutest of our English reasoners; he who hath most tended to dispel the mists of delusion from before the seared eyes of his own age. Here the heroic Algernon Sidney felt even his enthusiasm for a free state excited, by the contemplation that in the glorious era of your republic, thirty-seven thousand men could in a few hours assemble in arms, at the sound of your far-famed alarum bells—those bells which the patriot Caponi told the haughty Bourbon, returning from the conquest of Naples, that “he would ring, if the conqueror respected not the neutrality of the republic.”

Here the learned, the ingenious, the indefatigable Harrington might, as well as in his more beloved Venice—here, I say, he might have made that grand discovery, passed over by the ancient sages :—“ that the excellency and durability of a constitution of government depend upon the due equilibrium of the fortune of the subjects thereof; and that, accordingly, the authority of the state is either in the hands of a single person, a few, or a greater number.” He it is, also, that exclaimed, “ A People never die!”—To me the more mournful task remains to add, “ *but their liberties pass away !*”

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CHAP. VIII.

Thus far have my thoughts rambled over some of the most important considerations on the condition of the human race. Where is happiness to be found? Where indeed! What philosopher ever hath satisfactorily solved that question? We are perpetually staring around, to catch a glimpse of it, until we gaze through futurity upon the star-paved heavens. This may possibly be as good an attempt to discover the seeds of religion as was his of old, who pretended that it lies in fear. Yes, thou wonderful enchantress, Hope! what a mazy dance thou leadest us! for even the beauty that we prize, as the first of Nature's gifts, palls upon our enjoyment; we seek not to be cloyed: we desire only to

be refreshed, by catching and fixing her for a while.

Contention, agitation, turmoil, litigation, war—these are the billows that sustain the bark of Hope; over which she bounds, propelled by the whirlwind of the passions. Is he, then, wretched who is borne a passenger in this frail vessel? or rather the slave, who is chained quite benumbed to the shore, who has not been chosen by the fates for one of the jovial crew? He sobs, and frets, and paces to and fro, as far as his fetters allow him, and curses his morbid security. Readily would he plunge into the foaming tide, but he cannot: his hour has not yet come. Will it ever come, or is it passed? Horrid and portentous thought! enveloped in black despair, “that the tide of our fortune hath passed!” Let us chase it from our breast, for this alone can canker the soundest and the toughest heart. Are we condemned, then, by the eternal series of successive causes?

The infinite, concurrent concourse of events impel us—the universal mind agitates the mass. The universal mind! what a grand con-

ception ! what an overwhelming idea ! That mind, that is generated by the universal soul—that soul, which is universal life—the essence of actuality ! In this universal soul we have our being—we have it really and objectively. But is this sufficient to satisfy the craving appetite of that hungry and all-grasping being, which agitates our individual frame ? Confined to our tether—twitched and pulled back at every turn—casting our longing eyes around—panting and gasping to break away, we should sicken and die, had we not another being in Hope ! which makes us even run, and seek, and encounter with grim death ! Aye, and makes the frightful wars delightful. Blow, then, the hurricane of the passions, and swell the sails of the enchantress's bark ;—if adverse to one, the gale will be prosperous to another. This, then, is my doctrine : it cannot be too often insisted upon :—We have two existences : our sublimest is in Hope. It is the noblest faculty of our nature, because the most extended. It is a conclusion, and therefore from ourselves. Our tenderness is within ourselves, for it extends

not often beyond the sight and the touch ; all our feelings, all our passions, save only Hope, are pigmies : but she is a giantess, that strides over the universe ! She is confined neither by space nor time ;—she dances beyond all bounds ; she dwells with nations as with men—our *consciousness of her is the test of infinity.*

How oft she biddeth us to drink the dark waters of oblivion : for, to calculate upon what is to come from what is past, strips her of all her mystery, which is half her glory.

What we see, what we touch, what we feel, is positive ; that which we can neither see, touch, or feel, lies in Hope. Reality prolonged ; that is, reality expectant ; that is, reality to be. In that idea is contained our consolation, even though on the rack, in the dire dungeons of the Inquisition, or imprisoned within the sphere of untoward fortunes. Hope is then our mistress ; she is the goddess of our idolatry. Before her sacred fane we lie prostrate—her we worship ; the radiant morn opens upon our fervid orisons ;

the dismal night closes upon our ever-renewing prayer.

Who is he that crosses and jostles me in the rugged path of life? Who torments me in my journey? Can I overtake him? Can I drive him out of my way? No: but, by the assistance of the enchantress Hope, I can even quench his being. Vexed and oppressed by his reality, I fly into another existence—that of Hope—and he becomes a shadow.

Pitiful wretch! you, who are thrown prostrate on the ground—who are kicked and scoffed at—nay, even trampled upon,—rise up! Look about you. Gaze awhile, and you will see the wand of the enchantress waving to you to march onwards; she gives you courage, selfish elf, for she knows no death; she quenches death; she hath even expelled him from her joyous regions. She leads you on. Coward and slave! must you be still pricked, and driven by fell Despair? But if my stomach be not strong enough to drink the waters of oblivion, let me quaff the delicious goblet that intoxicates; my past life, then, becomes like last night's mask, a reeling

maze, confused, not worth unravelling. Every day that dawns brings with it fresh expectation;—every night that closes, cowering, sickening, disappointment. But still I watch with pleasure the little incidents of the day; those which, in the insolence of buoyant, bustling youth, were overlooked or neglected. Hence no wisdom without experience; no experience without time. Melancholy and frigid idea! that chills our hearts, and corrodes our happiness.

Hope is our prolonged existence—it giveth us a double life; rushing over actual existence, we anticipate existence every moment. Actual moments, with all their dark clouds, that shade our joy, flit past us each instant, like the rapid scud, signal of the approaching tempest. We fear it not, for hope loves to spring from the storm, as from her genial couch.

The horror of death is nought but the rapid termination of Hope! It is the dark barrier between us and hope natural. But hope, that can span infinitude, bounds over it: for, kindred to the Great Spirit, it will

not be contained by space and time, which are the walls of our actual frame. The Eternal Spirit views them as ideal phantoms; the mere surveying of fallacious sight; they exist not in the great conclusion of pure intelligence, which is restricted neither by space or time, whose prying sight is obscured by no mists. The inspiration of Hope is the absence of fear; the coldness and coyness of Hope are the fetters which moral cowardice impose. Is Hope, then, an equal or a partial gift? Is the Eternal Spirit, then, general or partial? Doth his pure and infinite intelligence partially encircle, and compress, and order, and harmonize, and sustain little divisions only of his vast creation? Doth he set his foot only upon this planet, or upon that; among this people, and among that, and exclaim, *Here alone I dwell*—with these men have I made a covenant—they only I favor in the highest of their prerogatives—Hope! Who, then, are these monopolizers? what exclusive title have they to the partiality of the Eternal Spirit? His roseate light is shed as universally as the light of the sun—but it

is manifested in as various ways as there are various and strange tongues.

The common consent of mankind is against the monopolizers of the knowledge and grace of God. I have said subjective Monotheism is consequent upon Pantheism : I have said, hope natural is the food of our moral existence ; it is the oil of the lamp of life ; it lighteth up our path—through the darkness of the clouds—of the millions of millions of combinations that we wade through. Hope, then, that is transcendant of the barrier of life, is consequent upon Hope natural ; both are contained in the idea of pure intelligence, discovered through the concrescence of our sensations. These are the essences most in affinity to the great conclusion of conclusions : Infinite intelligence—the Eternal Spirit—the universal Deity—the first cause—which hath been variously and reverently denominated by me, after the austere manner of the Stoics, who have rigorously demonstrated Him after his absolute power ; universal, and conjoined with all existences. Hence their precept,—the *Deum sequi*,—that is, submission.

Hence my opinion herein consists with and follows that of Seneca: "Call him," says he, "Nature, fate, fortune,—all these are but names of the same God, variously using his power." Perpetual movement is the plentiful fountain of his munificence; he pours forth life at every instant. On the principle of life, then, are all human contingencies consequent, pre-modelled and pre-existent in harmony. If our eyes are dazzled with the stupendous effects of perspective harmony, our inmost soul must be delighted with the sublimity of the ordinance of pre-established harmony, because this notion effaces the little blots that blur over the aspect of perspective harmony—the fine-drawn perspective leaves only its divine beauties.

The idea of harmony pre-established contains within it diversity and identity. These we observe, and scan well in the scale of existence; we conceive the pre-established harmony that models a race—we observe the identity and diversity in that race; hence the distinction between parent and child. Whence springs this identity and diversity? From

their outward, visible, tangible form : that which the Greeks denominated phenomenon : that is, rigidly speaking, appearances. Hence identity and diversity is within us, philosophically ; it exists in our sensations, and not in our conclusions. Immortality, which is contained in the idea of hope, is without us : hence there is no diversity or identity, because thought is general and indiscerptible ; hence the impossibility of concluding identity and diversity in immortality. It is, then, a pure abstract conclusion ; we cannot specify it into an actual existence ; that is, we cannot give it a being distinguished by identity and diversity—we must rest satisfied with its awful and general conclusion. In its bare contemplation we wander in the regions of infinitude, for we cannot comprehend how identity and diversity can leap over the barriers of time and space. Were we to be acquainted with such a predicament, harmony would be destroyed—because then our knowledge would transcend our existence. Thus the idea of immortality is not analogous to the principle of identity and diversity, but is contain-

ed in the idea of hope. Thus hope prolonged and immortality are one and the same.

And now I trust that I may be permitted to sum up and conclude what have been the opinions that I have ever held upon the nature, form, and dimensions of politic government; I would so order a polity, that the drift and direction of their instinct should be observable in its constitution. But, above all, let me apostrophize that nation to which I peculiarly belong, and from which I have, from the force of circumstances, been so long absent; and let me indulge that ardent hope, nay, invoke even a spirit of prophecy, which lurks in my bosom: that she may speedily return to her ancient form of government, crushed and humiliated as she hath been under various and galling yokes; the old laws, usages, and politics of England are the instinct thereof. She is a free nation, with all that is energetic and binding in the spirit of the feudal system. She is a feudal nation, with all that is animating, consoling and flourishing in the spirit of liberty. By feudal I mean morally feudal, not positively; that

influential system, compounded of chivalrous attachment resulting from old recollections—crushing the low, selfish feelings of the time present by the sublime recollections of the time past, and the awful anticipations of the time to come, erecting a principle without time. By the sacred doctrine of primogeniture, though individuals perish, the family subsists, and may resist the decay of a thousand years. I call it doctrine, because it is more than a law; nay, the law seeketh after the destruction of our property: but that proud excitement of continuing our race prompts us to undergo years of even penury and mortification, to keep it entire, in order that our race may run on through the stream of time. The consolidation of families is the basis whereon are erected the pillars of public liberty—pull them down, and the weight of the crown crusheth the elasticity of the people at large; the stay and prop of their freedom being removed, their own shoulders are not strong enough to resist its all-powerful pressure. It is the pillars, then, of a congregated aristocracy that must support, aye,

and ward off the weight of a ponderous kingly crown. Then are the people left to the exertion of their activity; then we see them come into play; their presence is to animate, to stimulate, to excite. The flux and reflux of the tide of popular exertion keepeth the little world of a civil polity in vigour and in health. Hence your philanthropic system of legislation, blending and mixing families too much into one system, destroyeth their original force, because it weakeneth their natural affections. Hence, whilst such a reform hath the appearance of aiding the civil liberty of the community, it plucks up the roots of political liberty, which may be defined to be the ready and efficient exertion of the energy of the body politic. Enemy to this artful reform, I adore Public Liberty! In her sacred cause have I poured forth my soul, the forerunner of the joyous sacrifice of my life's blood. May those who have sprung from my loins be inspired with these sentiments, and may they perish rather than survive the political liberty of the nation, to which Nature had inviolably com-

manded them to belong. Such admonition is the noblest legacy that I can leave them ! Let us fall again into the old direction. Patriarchal, simple, unsophisticated ; establishing laws that are framed to maintain a general principle, and not to extinguish the liberties of families ; binding only over the State—aloof from the sacred *domus*—from the *aris et focis*. Hence I loathe your hypocritic interference with families springing from the insolence of philanthropic legislation ; which is but a gratuity to slaves, not an act of justice to free men. Your associations ; your extending families beyond blood ; your vile destruction of instinct and natural feeling ; your monastic, hornbook system, to detach children from their parents ; nay, I would hardly erect an hospital, so little would I violate domestic feeling. Your meddling missionaries, who blasphemously volunteer God's special grace ; these *charlatans* of the kingdom of darkness ; these poisoners of the peace and privacy of families ; these invaders of the rights of the fathers of families, who are declared by Nature, not by kings and legisla-

tors, the chiefs of the commonweal. If there be a rotten branch in the tree, again I say, lop it off. What is a man to his generation? Let him perish, but let his generation flourish; and to flourish it must be uncontaminated.

To preserve wholesome and in vigour these healthful principles, let the awful and portentous cry, "To your tents, O Israel!" be ever on your lips. And now, yielding myself up to that single, pure, infinite, and immortal Spirit, which my presumptuous pen hath some way hazarded to approach, with all the faculties of my soul I devoutly acknowledge—what is must have been; what will be shall be! whatever has been, is, and will be; must have been, is, and will be right!

THE END.

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now, the child of the sun, in the
be a rotten piece of the sun, and
top it off. What is a man to do
let his body, but let his
rich, and to brighten it in the
muted.

To preserve a child, and in virtue
beholden, perhaps, let the child and
to your tent, O David, I
be ever on your side, and now
myself, to that state, peace, and
immortal spirit, which is the
path some way, perhaps, to
all the riches of my soul, I
believe—what is not done; what will
be shall be; whatever has been, is, and will
be, must have been, is, and will be.

THE END

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